A

JOURNEY INTO SPAIN.

By a Perſon of Quality.

LONDON,
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Where you may be furniſh'd with moſt Novels *and* Plays.

TO THE

READER.



I Preſent you the vaſt body of the Spaniſh Monarchy, which, though it hath ſpread its roots into many and diſtant Provinces, is but of late growth, having but little before the laſt age firſt aſpired, not only to a competition with the two anti-

ently ballancing powers of Chriſtendom, England *and* France (*for two they were when* France *depended not on* England) *but the Empire of the World. Our near concernments either in peace or war with it, rendring it very neceſſary to beknown to us, I am willing to ſhew it you in ſuch particular remarks of the people and Countrey, as I think you have not yet ſeen, with ſomething of obſervation on its ſodain advance, and almoſt as ſodain decay; ſo that it is no longer a competitor with the other two, but*

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ſo much fallen from it, it could ſcarcely any longer ſubſiſt, did not the moderation and juſtice of one of thoſe Monarchs, oblige him rather to joyn in ſupporting its Throne, then enjoy his ſhare of the many advantages, his maritime power and ſituation of his Dominion, might reaſonably promiſe by the fall of it; eſpecially in regard by ſending abroad he ſhall not need to fear ſuch a depopulation as it ſuffers under, when his doors ſhall be opened by Acts of Naturalization and Regiſters, to admit and ſecure

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ſuch as (out of conſideration of the fertility of his Countrey, temperature of its Air, and convenience for Trade) will abundantly ſupply what may be ſo exhauſted.

The time of taking this ſurvey ſufficiently diſcovers it ſelf in it, and though ſome years ſince relates to ſeveral very modern tranſactions of Chriſtendom of the higheſt concern, as the Engliſh rebellion, renunciation of the Queen of Sweden, *and impriſonment of the Duke of* Lorrain; *neither have any changes very conſiderable ſince happened to* Spain, *either*

either in its Government, Customs, or Negotiations.

You have in it a clear prospect of decay of Power, with increase of Wealth, which shews you are not undone by scarcity (whether real or pretended) of those adored Metals for which this People have sold themselves and abandoned their Countrey, whilest you abound in all things else that contribute either to use or pleasure, and they (though Masters of the Fountains of them) are indeed as indigent and miserable as you fancy yourselves to be in the want of

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them alone. It makes no leſs evident that when a Nation (eſpecially its Nobility and Gentry) contemns or neglects Arms, it is at the higheſt, if not declining. If it be a little Satirical as to the haughtineſs and ſingularity of that People, it hath alſo ſomething of Panegeric as to ſeveral of their Virtues, without which yet I ſuppoſe it might be tolerated, our Preſs having formerly made as bold with moſt of the other Nations of Europe, *as they with us.*

A JOURNEY INTO SPAIN.

WHen we left *Italy*, we reſolved for *Spain*; but becauſe *M. P.* intending his Son ſhould take that Journey with us, had ordered him to expect us at *Monpellier*, whither he had commanded him to repair, from the houſe of a Gentleman of *Xaintonge*, where he had reſided ſome months, we were obliged to tarry for him. He came not till the later end of *December*, the extremity of which ſeaſon preſſing us to ſpend the Winter there, we deferred our departure till the Spring: and the weather in *Languedoc* being pleaſant in March, we went away the *6th* of that month. I ſhall not concern my ſelf in deſcribing what we ſaw in that moſt agreeable Province, nor in repeating what we learned that was conſiderable, whilſt we traverſed it almoſt from one

end to the other; nor yet ſay any thing of *Gaſcony*, through which we paſſed; nor of *Bayonne*, where we took our leaves of *France*. Having travail'd thoſe parts only as they lay in our way to *Spain*, I ſhall reſerve all my curioſity for it, and not charge my Table-book with any obſervations till I come to the Frontiers of that Kingdom. That I may not neglect many particulars I learned of the Government, Cuſtoms, and preſent Condition of the Imperious Nation that inhabits it, I will here make an Extract of what I ſcattered in ſeveral Papers during our abode at *Madrid*: to put which into method, were to unravel confuſion it ſelf; every thing ſhall therefore have its place, as I ſaw or heard it; and if ſome be repeated more than once, it is becauſe I deſign not a poliſhed work, but to give liberty to my diſcourſe according to Time, Place, Perſons, Companies, and Entertainments, and ſuch reflections as have preſented from them; not confining my ſelf to what I ſaw, or happened to me, or my Company, but enlarging to what was told us, having ever endeavoured to get the beſt informations poſſible. It ought not to ſeem ſtrange if in ſome places I happen to ſpeak untruths without lying, and in others to wander without knowing I am out of the way, and devoting my Book to thoſe only that have ſeen its foundations laid, and materials gathered together, to ſerve us as memorials of part of that time which for ſix years we employed in ſtudying the World in its great School, which is Travail: The miſtakes and errors made either by me, or ſuch

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as I converſed with, will not to them appear very conſiderable or uneaſie to be effaced as ſoon as diſcovered: and if it accidentally happen into other hands, they may make choice of what is weighty and certain, leaving what ſeems light and doubtful, without any juſt cauſe of complaint againſt me on account of that which I write not for their ſakes. I have nevertheleſs endeavoured to make as few errors as poſſible, and what I ſet down at night according to the ſeveral Objects and Companies of the day, I overlook'd next morning, and made farther enquiry of ſuch perſons as I thought likely to diſabuſe me if ill informed, and give me clearer light if what I had received were imperfect. According to this method I have (better or worſe) ſatisfied my curioſity in examining this grave and haughty Nation at its own home, ſince it ſeldom goes abroad unleſs to command others, and ſecure its King of their obedience by Garriſons and Colonies ſent into all parts of his Dominions in the new and old World, and by the Governments and Magiſtracies he beſtows upon it, with an intire excluſion of the Inhabitants of thoſe Countries to which he diſtributes them.

Reſolving to enter by way of *St. Sebaſtian*, which is the moſt eaſie, we lodged at the laſt Town of *France* called *St. John de Luz*. It is the Seat of Commerce between the two Frontiers, and may paſs for a good City, being large, well built, and rich: Its Mariners are eſteemed and employed in fiſhing for Cods, and Whales; and we found Dutch men there that had hired fifty to

be made uſe of at *New-found-land*.

As ſoon as we had paſſed *Baione* we perceived the humour of the people to incline to that of their Neighbourhood, being inſolent and little complying with ſtrangers: the women in paſſing the Streets caſt their Coats over their heads, and ſo to cover their cheeks diſcover their buttocks. The next day we wanted but two leagues to the *Spaniſh* Dominion, and at a good diſtance diſcerned *Fontarabia*, a Fort at the falling of *Bidaſſao* into the ſea: This River, or rather Torrent, ſeparates the two Kingdoms; it is pretty broad at the Ferry, the Country thereabouts being fenny, and ebs and flows with the Sea: at low water it is in many places fordable. *Andaie* a little Town or Village is ſeated on its bank, right over againſt *Fontarabia*, and ſeparated from it only by that ſtream: but we were fain to go higher to ſeek the Ferry-boat, and were troubled how to find it, having been wrong directed by the Poſt-maſter, who does all ill offices he can to thoſe that travail on their own horſes. The *Toll* paid by the Boats goes half to the *French*, and half to the *Spaniſh*, one of them receiving it of ſuch as paſs into *Spain*, and the other of thoſe that travail into *France*, but both of them equally ſqueezing the Paſſenger. Theſe Frontiers have no leſs Communication than if there were no war between the two Nations; and it is well for them it is ſo; for otherwiſe an univerſal deſolation would follow. The Country is barren and mountainous, producing nothing but Iron, as well that which belongs to *France*, as that which is poſ-

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ſeſſed by the *Spaniard*, which is the greateſt part. It is called *Biſcai* : the language is underſtood only by the Inhabitants, and ſo poor that one word hath diverſe ſignifications, ſo that it cannot without difficulty be made uſe of in Commerce : None write it, and the Children at School learn French or Spaniſh, as they are ſubject to either King.

It does not a little ſurpriſe, when having paſſed *Bidaſſao*, one is no more underſtood without ſpeaking Spaniſh, when a moment before French was intelligible. Half a quarter of a league further is *Iron*, the firſt Town belonging to the King of *Spain* ; they neither demand Paſsport nor Account of any's buſineſs ; and one would think there were neither warr nor diſtruſt ; only the Alcalde came for two Reals as a due belonging to him : but ſuch as return and paſs into *France* are not uſed with the like indifference : We were entertained at the Poſthouſe, much as we had formerly been in *Italy* on the way to *Naples*, but more ſlenderly : little Diſhes with little bits of meat, made us deſpair of filling our bellies ; but at laſt one after another enow were brought to ſatisfie us. When the reckoning came they fleeced us, and we were forced to give four Crowns for a Meal that was not worth one. Over ſeveral Mountains, and by a way very rough and ſtony, we got that night to lye at *St. Sebaſtians*, where we arrived before we were aware, it being covered by a great bank of ſand, which paſſed, the Town appears at the foot of a Mountain that keeps off the ſea, though ſhe embraces it almoſt

on all ſides, and enters far enough to make a Haven; but for greater ſafety to Ships, there is a Redout in form of a Baſin, they riding at the Town ſide, and foot of the Mountain, where they ſeem ſecure from ſtorms, though we were told ſome have riſen to that height that they have broken in pieces ſuch as anchored there.

Greater Veſſels cannot enter, the water ſerving only for Barks and Shallops: Ships of Warr ride a quarter of a league lower, towards *Fontarabia*, where is the Arſenal for the Oceans Fleet, at preſent in no very good condition. It returned from *Bourdeaux* much weather-beaten, and for want of money nothing is done towards refitting it.

Before *St. Sebaſtian* there is a great Ship on the Stocks intended for Admiral: it will be a ſtately Veſſel if ever finiſhed: we were told it had been long in the condition in which we ſaw it, and that more money had been ſpent about it than would have ſerved for a dozen ſuch Fabricks, of which the greateſt part became a prey to the Overſeers.

Bilbo and *St. Sebaſtian* are the principal Havens the King of *Spain* hath on the Ocean; *Corugna* alſo is ſpoken of, where the Marquis of *St. Cruz* tarried ſomewhat too long, whileſt revolted *Bourdeaux*, for want of his Succors, was ready to return to its Kings obedience: he could not have choſen a fitter place to refreſh his Fleet, none on that Coaſt abounding more with Limons and Oranges, which from thence are tranſported into *England*, *France*, and *Holland*; and if he

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was better pleaſed there than he ſhould have been in fighting Monſieur *de Vendoſme*, he payed dear enough for it, having been detained priſoner ever ſince his return from ſo famous an expedition. *St. Sebaſtian* is ſeated in a very little Province called *Guipuſcoa*; Trafick draws to it a great concourſe, though the Town be but ſmall, it is very compact, and extremely populous, one houſe containing ſeveral Families. A Merchant Stranger is there forced to lodge with ſome Citizen, it not being permitted him to be a Houſekeeper: many Dutch men are obliged to live in this manner. The cuſtom was thus introduced; ſtrangers at the firſt ſettling of Trafick out of meer liberality gave their Landlords as a Gratuity one in the hundred of all the Commodities they ſold; and the Inhabitants to preſerve this profit made ſuch an Order, which hath cauſed ſome that would not obſerve it to be ſued at Law. That which moſt pleaſed me in this Town, was, that the Streets are wide, ſtreight, and very well paved with a broad ſtone, like that of *Florence*. The principal Revenue of the Country is drawn from Iron-mills, ſome of them of a very pure mettal, and ſo rich they may furniſh all *Europe*: Wools of old *Caſtile* are alſo ſhipped here, ſent in good quantity by the Merchants of diverſe places. The Baron of *Batteville*, a Gentleman of the *Franch Contie* (who was then preſent) is Governor, and with it of all *Guipuſcoa*. Though he hath rendered very many good ſervices to *Spain*, particularly in the Troubles of *Gaſconie*) and ſo ſeaſeaſoned himſelf with Spaniſh Cuſtoms, that he

hath forgotten his own Language and Country; this employment, to which that of Admiral is joyned, draws on him no little envy. We waited on him, and he received us well, but returned not our Viſit, and we went away without bidding him adieu. Here we ſtayed three dayes, and kept our Eaſter: we had been recommended to a worthy Merchant, who after Dinner carried us to a Nunnery, where we heard moſt pitiful Muſick. This Cloiſter is on an Eminence, from which the Town that is overagainſt it may be very well battered; and the Caſtle or Citadel which is on the top of a hill, at whoſe foot the Town ſtands, ſeems rather a Sentry-houſe to watch, than a Fortreſs to defend it.

On Tueſday in Eaſter-week, having been treated by our Merchant, we took the way of *Madrid*, 84 leagues diſtant. The Country we paſſed through is mountainous and barren, and we perceived that we traverſed the tops of the *Pirenean*, which almoſt divide *Spain*, as the *Apenine Italy*. Neceſſity quickly taught us the Mode of the Country, which obliges Travailers to buy in ſeveral places all accommodations neceſſary. We tarried a while at *St. Sebaſtians*, partly to provide us a *Moco de Mulas*, that is a Servant or Guide, to bring us to *Madrid*, to whom it belongs to buy victual, and carry other proviſions: Forty Crowns were demanded of us for the attendance of one of thoſe Raſcals, which being ſo dear, we reſolved not to take any, and to guide our ſelves as well as we could. The part of *Moço de Mulas* fell to my ſhare: I ſhall give you

you the particulars of this imployment, and of travailing in *Spain*. At the first arrival at an Inn you ask for Beds, which being provided, you either give the meat you bring raw with you to the Host to be dressed, or go your self and buy it in the Market: if you find any Capon, Pullet, or Partridge you seek to make sure of them. We were told we should meet plenty of the last, fatter, larger, and better than those of *France*; but in all our Journey we found but one, neither had it all those advantages. The best way is to carry your provision along with you in Wallets, and provide what you find on the place to be made use of the next day. Coming to your Inn, you go abroad to buy bread, wine, and eggs; for something of those is usually to be had, but none allowed to sell them except such as farm that Priviledge: Excise goes so high, that the King hath a *quarto* upon every egge. These Inns are sad spectacles, and the sight of them gives one a belly full. The fire is made on a hearth in the middle of the Kitchin, choked with so thick a smoke, that you would think your self in the Kennel of a Fox that the Hunters would drive out: a man or woman all in rags like a begger, and no less lowsie, measures the wine to you, which is drawn from a Hogs, or Goats skin, in which it is kept, and which is to it both Barrel and Celler: the best wine out of these is a very unpleasant liquor, having a most abominable taste of the pitched hide. The White-wine is as fiery as *Aqua-vitæ*, yet bears not water, the least drop being mixed with it, becoming insipid and without spirit.

ſpirit. By what I have ſaid may be gathered how ill living is in *Spain*; yet I found it not ſo bad as I expected, eſpecially in *Biſcai*, though a Country leſs fertile then *Caſtile*. It is true indeed, that being a Frontier, it is not ſo much taxed, and the People enjoy greater liberty, and ſome proviſions may be found in the Inns, but at double their value.

About a day and a halfs Journey from *St. Sebaſtian* we paſſed over a pretty high Mountain called *St. Adrians*; it is none of the ſteepeſt or craggieſt, but that which I found moſt remarkable, is that on the top of it runs a ridge of rock, which hinders paſſing; one would think it placed there by nature, as a fixed and inſurmountable ſeparation between *Biſcai* and old *Caſtile*, in ſuch a manner, that they have been fain to open a way with much difficulty; for the rock is cut thorough thirty or forty paces: In this there is one houſe, which muſt needs be very well roofed, having ſo great a Maſs of the quarry to cover it. Freed from this wonderful paſſage, we deſcended into old *Caſtile*, ſomething more plain, though not much more fertil. We found here no leſs trouble than on the *Alpes* at the Mountain of St. *Godard*, night ſurpriſing us in the middle of the deſcent, and for increaſe of our misfortune, we could get no lodging at the next Village: this the more incommoded us in regard one of our horſes had loſt both his ſhoes before: notwithſtanding which we were forced to ſeek entertainment in another miſerable Village (to which the Hoſt was our Guide) which afforded us only bread and wine,

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and two wretched Beds, whoſe Sheets and Matreſſes could not oblige us to put off our cloths.

We begin now to approach the heart of *Spain*, having entred the old *Caſtile*, where ſtands the City of *Valladolid*, for a long time the Seat of its Kings, the Country is all ſand, and little hillocks of unfertil earth, often interrupted by Mountains hooded with rocks, unleſs in ſome few places where ſmall Plains and Valleys appear, that afford the Inhabitants ſuch proviſions as ſuſtain them. But never did I ſee any Country leſs beautified with Gardens: I know not whether by reaſon the ſoil affords them not, or that the people are not induſtrious enough to take care of them.

Coming near *Vittoria*, the firſt City of *Caſtile*, we paſſed through the faireſt and beſt cultivated Plain we had till then ſeen: that little City is ſeated at the end of it, as ſeemed to us, very pleaſantly: we reſted there half a day, as well to ſhoe our horſes, as to deliver a letter we had for the Maſter of the Cuſtom-houſe, from whom we hoped addreſſes neceſſary to continue our Journey ſecurely. We heard rumours of Theeves, and beyond *Burgos* a great Robberie had been lately committed. This Letter was very uſeful to us, for till then we had not been any wayes moleſted about our horſes or baggage, but we were aſſured, that had we only paſſed the Gate without a Ticket from the Cuſtom-houſe all had been confiſcated. It fell out very luckily for us to have a letter to him that is the Kings Farmer, who as ſoon as he had received it, viſited us, and not only

cauſed

cauſed a ſufficient Paſsport to be given us, but made us a Preſent of Wine, Capons and Neats-tongues, with which furniſhing our Knapſacks, we had recourſe to them in caſe of neceſſity. The civility of this *Spaniard* was very pleaſing to us, and made us judge this Nation more generous then the *Italians*, though they be equally for their particular intereſts, and one of them as little communicable as the other.

The firſt of *April* we dined at *Pancorbo*, and lay at *Miranda*, and the next day did the like at *Barbieſca* and *Monaſterio de Rodillas*; the Third we arried at *Burgos*, the chief City of *Caſtile*, and ſo conſiderable in both *Caſtiles*, that it poſſeſſes the firſt place, though diſputed by *Toledo:* we were not at all troubled with heat on our way, but not a little that day with cold; a ſharp wind cauſed a hoar froſt, and in ſome places Ice: *Burgos* is the coldeſt City of *Spain*, being ſeated at the foot of a high Mountain; it hath formerly enjoyed a conſiderable Trade, which of later days is almoſt loſt; it is not very great, and the moſt remarkable things in it are the Church and Arch-biſhops Palace, admirable Fabricks for *Spain*, where generally they build ill; in ſome places becauſe they are poor, and in others for want of Lime and Stones, ſo that in every part, and even in *Madrid* it ſelf, many houſes are made of earth; and the beſt Fabricks cimented with Clay inſtead of Mortar. Another ornament of *Burgos*, is a large and very convenient Bridge, paſſing from the Suburbs to the City: its inhabitants are thought

thought to ſpeak the beſt *Caſtilian*; this Territory, of a certain breeds the beſt ſoldiers, and very few afford the King a greater number; we received extraordinary civilities from a Merchant, to whom we were recommended by the Cuſtomer of *Vittoria*. He did not only inquire us out company for our journey to *Madrid*, becauſe of the danger of Thieves; but finding us in a lodging where we could not be well entertained, after ſhewing us the Town, carried us to his Houſe, where he Treated us at Dinner with a frankneſs, much more valuable then his good cheer; it was ſerved in diſh after diſh, and began by a ſlender potage, with two or three ſlices of bread in it; every one of us had an earthen porrenger of it preſented him, but the Saffron and Pepper gave ſuch a hogo, it could hardly be eaten. It was on a *Saturday* and according to the cuſtom of that Countrey to eat on ſuch days, the heads and intrails of Sheep and Oxen, we had ſuch meats, ſo that we fared much better then we ſhould have done by hunting among the Taverns and victualing houſes to make our own proviſion: beſides, the gallantry of his manner of Treating, ſurprzed us, conducting us with a great deal of freedom into the chamber where the Cloth was laid, and his wife lay ſick abed of a Quartane Ague; that day I ſpurred up my memory to furniſh me with all the Spaniſh, had lain dormant there, ſince I ſtudied it at *Florence*, and lighting on any expreſſion of civility, repeated it ſo often, that it was very evident, Compliments were ſcarce with me; *M. P.* ſpoke now

now and then a word, and *M. S.* was continually ſilent, ſo that the burthen of the entertainment lay all on me, who knew not very well how to acquit my ſelf, eſpecially, when the wife began to ſpeak from the bed; I knew not whether I was to Treat her with *Vueſtra Merced*, or *Vueſtra Sennoria*, which ſo confounded me, that often ſuppoſing, the firſt belonged onely to men, I bluſhed as if I had committed ſome hainous crime, and recalling my ſelf, brought out the ſecond, due only to perſons of eminent Quality, for *Vueſtra Merced* is of all genders, and ſo common, that Grooms and Footmen honour one another with it: To bring my ſelf off, I drank her good health, ſaying, *Sennora a la Salud de* x x x x and there was gravell'd, not knowing which word to chuſe, and I think I made uſe of both, *que dios le dia prompta guariſon*, I cannot tell whether ſhe underſtood me, for I have ſince been told, the laſt word is not Spaniſh; but this I am ſenſible of, that I committed a great incivility by putting off my Hat, which is never done there at Table: Having made better uſe of our teeth then tongues, it was at laſt, time to be gone; the Maſter of the houſe, according to the cuſtom of the Countrey, leading the way, for as they button contrary to other nations, they are alſo contrary in this particular; and they ſay, that in accompanying the ſtranger, the Maſter of the houſe goes firſt to leave the other in poſſeſſion. I forgot to give the woman a parting Compliment. Coming back to the Inn, where we alighted, we found the

the widow that kept it, drunk, on which I muſt take occaſion to ſay, that I never ſaw ſo many women drunk in *Germany*, as on this ſide the *Pireneans*; this was the ſecond that gorged with wine, which they ſend for to Taverns, came to piſs before us all in the Stable. Though we had almoſt reſolved to lie at *Burgos*, as ſoon as we had left our Merchant, our minds alter'd, becauſe we were told that three Leagues from thence we ſhould find a very good Inn, but our ſervants being walked abroad, had like to have hindred our putting this in execution. One of them having enter'd a Church with ſpurs on, the Gates were ſhut upon him, till he payed money exacted as on ſhipboard, but at laſt he freed himſelf; we preſently took horſe, and as ſoon as out of Town, miſſed our way; after which, making uſe of a Prieſt we met with for our guide, we happened to be very ill lodged: the next day cold and rainy, we dined at *Lerma*, where having lit on a good Inn, we continued till the morning after; we went to ſee the Palace of the Lord of it, next the *Eſcurial*, eſteemed the faireſt in *Spain*, It is a vaſt Fabrick, but ill contriv'd, without either Garden or Plantation for Walks: being holiday, the inhabitants were together, drinking in a large Hall, into which, as ſoon as we enter'd, they very civilly preſented us Wine, and the Corrigidor, or chief Officer of the place, entertained and ſhewed us ſeveral rooms of the Palace.

Leaving *Lerma* the 5th, we arrived at *Madrid* the 9th. where we were very glad to be, as wel

well to reſt our ſelves as to enjoy a milder Climat, for in *Caſtile* we were tormented with continual cold wind and rain, and a Countrey ſo Steril, that we could not but rejoyce to approach one ſomething leſs ſavage. An inexpreſſible number of *French* pilgrims paſs to and from *St. James* in *Galicia*, the occaſion of the Spaniards calling them *Gavachos*, this makes evident that *France* abounds in people, and thoſe very idle, in ſuch a manner to peſter the roads of *Spain*. Ignorance, poverty and abuſe in matters of Religion, cauſe this diſorder, and that a great many poor pilgrims (not entertain'd here as in *Italy*, the Hoſpitals affording only houſe-room) die every year in *Spain*. The beſt Town we ſaw on the way was *Aranda de Duero*, where we provided our ſelves to paſs the 7th the Mountain of *Samoſierra*, which ſeparates Old *Caſtille* from New, in which *Madrid* ſtands. Theſe paſſages are called Ports, as if there were Rivers to be forded or ferried over, and at firſt deceived us with the expectation of ſome rapid and difficult Torrent. This day we ſuffered by rain, hail, ſnow, and wind, and found not *Spain* hotter then other Countreys, being almoſt frozen in ſo advanced a ſeaſon, and between the two *Caſtiles*. We were not free from the Mountains, till within Three or Four Leagues of *Madrid*, the ſnowy tops of which are diſcerned at it: the Plain in which it is ſeated is ſomewhat uneven, riſing and falling every halfe quarter of a League: it is not adorned by any one tree, the Land on that ſide by which we went towards it is tilled, yet

ſeems

ſeems very barren, conſiſting onely of Sand and light Earth, unleſs ſome few eminences; no wood, and abundance of ſtones: the way all along is good, as is uſual where Land is bad; and when we enquired after it, we were anſwered with a Spaniſh Rhodomontado, that we could not poſſibly miſs it, becauſe the greateſt high-way in the world. On the ſide we enter'd it appears not much, but on that where *Buon retiro* ſtands, gives a very agreeable Proſpect. It is not walled; the Streets are large, but foul, and ſtinking They which calculate all the ordures caſt into them, ſay they are daily perfumed by above a hundred thouſand Cloſe-ſtools; the Pavement is ſo defective, and the Coaches ſo ill hung, that to ride in them over ſo uneven ground is to be broken on the Wheel. Houſes (as well as all things elſe) are very dear here. They build only with brick and clay, having little lime, and no ſtone but what is brought ſeven leagues from about the Eſcurial. A Houſe that in another place were very inconſiderable is ſold here for 20 or 25 thouſand crowns. Whoever builds is concluded to have a Purſe very well lined. They which return from Governments beyond ſea, demoliſh their Houſes and build Palaces, which make appear they have either been Viceroys of *Naples*, or Governors of *Flanders* or *Milan*. In this manner this Town, which is new, and the greateſt part very ſlightly built, according to the abilities of the Inhabitants, becomes every day more beautiful, as the better part of the Kings Revenue, is appropriated to thoſe that have the managing of it.

La Placa Major is very fair, ſomething more long than large, the houſes on all ſides uniform, and the higheſt in *Madrid*. They are all encompaſſed by two or three ranks of Balconies, which ſerve to ſee the Feaſts of Bulls, the famouſeſt Ceremonies of *Spain*.

Report ſpeaks this Divertiſement to have been derived from the Moors, and indeed it ſavours not a little of their Brutality: It ſuits ſo ſtrangely with the genius of this People, that no Town is ſo mean but it hath its peculiar Feaſts, and think a Curſe would follow ſhould they omit ſolemniſe them. The King cannot abſent himſelf from thoſe of *Madrid* without the murmurs of the People. His Palace is at one end of the Town, on an almoſt indiſcernable riſing, that ſide on which we went to it enjoys the proſpect of a little River, and part of a Valley in which are ſome trees: by it he can paſs to *la Caſa del Campo*, a wretched Houſe of Pleaſure, without other Ornament than a few Walks in a Wood.

On this Brook, rather than River, *Philip* the Second built a very great and broad Bridge, ſome of its arches not touched by any water: And I believe it was rather made for a more commodious paſſing the deſcent of the Valley, than to be a great Bridge to little or no River. The Kings Houſe hath nothing magnificent, yet is not ſo mean as was reported to us. There is a very fair Piazza before it, to which it repreſents no unhandſome Frontiſpice, were the building higher, and a defective Tower finiſhed. It hath two Quadrangles very large: All Councils meet in the Palace,

Palace, and the King by private Galleries can go to any of the Rooms where they ſit. There is a great Concourſe, and no leſs noiſe, when any of them are aſſembled : But in the Kings Apartment all is very ſtill, and no body appears till he goes to Maſs, the only time of ſeeing him : His Halberdiers are then drawn out on each ſide the Gallerie, by which he paſſes; Theſe are *Germans*, *Burgundians*, and *Spaniards*, about two or three hundred, wearing all Liveries of yellow trimmed with red Velvet. When he comes from his Apartment the Captain of the Gard goes before him, and he is followed only by two or three Perſons. Paſſing between theſe Halberdiers he receives ſuch Petitions as are preſented him. One day as he went to Chappel we would have gone in before, the better to view him, but a Doorkeeper (as formerly happened at *Ratisbone* on ſuch an occaſion) told us, that none were to enter unleſs clothed in black. I liked no Houſe in this Town ſo well as the Priſon, where yet I would leaſt deſire to lodge : It is a maſſie ſolid building, the Windows fortified with great barrs of Iron, as much for ornament as ſecurity : they are artificially wrought and guilded, ſo that my miſtake will not ſeem very ſtrange, who at firſt thought it the habitation of ſome Grandee of *Spain*.

All agree that no City of *Spain* is ſo populous as this, and excepting *London* and *Paris* I never ſaw ſo many Coaches in anv ; they are drawn by Mules only, and none but the Kings and the Maſters of his Horſe with more than four : They are

no wayes magnificent but in ſome ſlight guildings of the Iron-works, and about the Boots: the greateſt part of them are covered with waxed cloth. On one ſide of the Town is the *Prado*, a large Walk made uſe of for the *Tour*; near it is a great Fabrick, but low, called *Buen Retiro*. The Duke of *Olivares*, during his adminiſtration, ſpent many Millions on a Structure that is not very conſiderable: I ſaw but part of it, where a Comedy was preparing with Scenes, that would amount to a great expence; a *Florentine* was the Undertaker. For ordinary Comedies here are two Theaters, where they act every day: The Players have to themſelves not above three half pence for every perſon, the Hoſpital as much, and as much the Town-houſe; to ſet down it coſts ſeven pence, the whole amounting to fifteen pence. I can ſay little to the Lines or Plots, not being skilful enough in the language to underſtand Poetry, nor the figurative faſhion of ſpeaking that belongs to it: but know they play their parts ill, few or none having either the meen or genius of true Actors. They preſent by daylight, ſo that their Scenes appear not with advantage: Their Clothes are neither rich, nor appropriated to their Subject; and the Spaniſh habit ſerves where the Scene is *Greece* or *Rome*. The Playes I have ſeen have but three Acts, called *Jornadas*: They uſually begin by a Prologue in Muſick, but ſing ſo ill, that their harmony reſembles little Childrens whinings: Between the Acts there is ſome little Farce, Dance, or Intrigue, the moſt diverting of the whole Piece: The People

people are so taken with them it is hard to get place, the best being bespoken, and the excessive idleness of this Country, as that of *England*, is made evident in that in *Paris* it self, though there are not Playes every day, there is no such crowding to them. Having with some exactness reported the particularities of such places as we saw, I will now acquaint you with what I in general observed of the Spanish humor and Government. This Nation is thought to be very proud and disdainful, but is really neither so much as it seems: its meen doubtlesly is deceitful, and they which frequent it find not all the vanity imagined, and may perceive it to be a vice proceeding rather from erroneous Morals than an insolent temper. To Hector it both in words and gestures, seems to them a symtome of a great soul; and visiting other Countries, little or not at all they discover not this defect, derived to them from the first milk they suck, and the first Sun gives them light.

Some *Spaniards* are so ignorant that they believe not there is any other Country than *Spain*, other City than *Madrid*, or King than their own. When I speak of ignorant *Spaniards*, I mean those meer *Castillians* who never having quitted their Threshold, know not whether *Amsterdam* be in *Europe*, or the *Indies*. The Nobility and Grandees go little out of *Madrid*, neither as Soldiers nor Travailers, unless commanded and employed. They have no information either by Gazetts or other news written or printed, and I never more admired any thing than that this Na-

tion we eſteem ſo politick, and imperious, Maſters of the ſecret of the univerſal Monarchy, and capable of impoſing fetters on the reſt of Chriſtendom, hath ſo very few able heads, amongſt whom it is thought the Earl of *Caſtriglio*, Viceroy of *Naples* is none of the meaneſt; *Pignoranda*, *Don Lewis de Haro*, and *Don Fernando de Contreras* govern all. The Earl of *Ognate* is a great head-piece, but the Favourite is jealous of him, and as much as poſſible keeps him from affairs. The Grandees of *Spain* appear ſuch only at a diſtance: here they ſeemed to me very little, and without any other advantages than to put on their hats, and ſit down in the Kings preſence; in other particulars I never obſerved leſs inequality in the moſt popular Republick. A Shoemaker when he hath laid aſide his Awl and Laſt, and hung his Sword and Dagger by his ſide, will hardly give the firſt ſalute to him he wrought for in his Shop a moment before. You cannot ſpeak to one of the moſt inferior of the rabble without giving him titles of honor; and they treat one another with *Senores Cavalleros*. If a Beggar ſeeks an Alms, and you refuſe him, it muſt not be without a Compliment, *Pardone Vueſtra merced, no tengo diveros*: pardon me Sir, I have no money. No other Prince lives like the King of *Spain*, his employments are continually the ſame, in ſuch a manner, that he at all times knows how every day of his life is to be paſſed over: You would think ſome indiſpenſable Law prohibited his omitting to do according to cuſtom; ſo that neither weeks, months, years, nor hours change any thing

thing of his manner of living, nor preſent him any thing new. As ſoon as he riſes and recollects what day it is, he knows what buſineſſes he is to diſpatch, or what pleaſures to enjoy. He hath certain hours for forain and domeſtick Audiences, and for ſigning all that tends to the expedition of his Affairs, diſpoſal of his Treaſure, Meals, and Devotions. And I have been aſſured that whatever happens he continues firm in ſuch a manner of acting. Every Saturday he goes to a Church at the farther end of the old Pardo called *Atocha*, where he hath a moſt particular Devotion to the Holy Virgin, ſaying it is from her he hath received ſo great favours, and admirable aſſiſtances in his greateſt extremities. *France* alſo imputes all its ſucceſſes to her mediation, and the advantages of theſe potent Kingdoms, having been ſo long diametrically oppoſite, it ſeems ſomething inconſiſtent, that (little happineſs coming to one without the others misfortune) they can both boaſt to have her propitious. Every year at the ſelf ſame time he goes to his Houſes of pleaſure, and they ſay nothing but ſickneſs can prevent his retiring to *Aranjuez*, *Pardo*, or the *Eſcurial*, in the Months he had wont to enjoy the Air of the Country. In a word, they which have ſpoken to me of this humor, tell me it is very conformable to his Meen and Port, and they that are near him aſſured me, that when they ſpeak to him he changes neither look nor poſture, but receives, hears, and anſwers them with the ſame countenance, nothing in all his body being moveable but his lips and tongue. This gravity, whether

natural or affected, is in this Country ſo eſſential a part of Majeſty, that we were told that the Queen one day, tranſported at dinner to a more than ordinary laughter, at the ridiculous poſtures and diſcourſes of a Buffoon, was put in mind, that to do ſo became not a Queen of *Spain*, who ought to be more ſerious; at which ſurpriſed, being young, and but newly come out of *Germany*, ſhe ſaid ſhe could not help it unleſs that fellow were taken away, and that they ſhould not have brought him thither if they would not have had her laugh at him. Two dayes in the week he gives publick Audiences, principally to receive Petitions and Memorials of ſuch as beg any favour of him. He anſwers not immediately, but cauſes them to be all carried into a certain place, where they are peruſed by a Secretary of State, who diſtributes them to ſuch of the ſeveral Councils, as their contents relate to; after which he that would be diſpatched, muſt enquire at the Secretaries Office what anſwer is returned, but ſeldom finds any, eſpecially if the pretence be arrears or reward; and when he hath loſt all hope of hearing what is become of his Petition, it is permitted him to preſent as many more as he pleaſes, but to little purpoſe, for the King ſeldom ſees any, and all are carried to the Council that received the firſt, which having no intention to ſatisfie him, returns neither Petition nor Anſwer: For this reaſon *Madrid* is ever full of pretenders, who with the attendance of whole years, loſe their ink and Paper. His Majeſty hath alſo certain hours in which he ſigns all expeditions

peditions of State, and of his Treaſurie; ſo that nothing is done, nor one penny given out without an Order ſigned by him, whereas in *France* the Secretaries of State have the Seal and Signature of the King in their power, which would give them oppportunities of doing many things on their own accompt, ſhould they abuſe it. It is true yet, that neither here nor there the Secretary ſigns or preſents any thing to be ſigned, but by conſent of the Favourite or chief Miniſter: and *Don Fernando de Contreras*, principal Secretary, who with *Pigneranda*, and *Don Lewis de Haro* governs all, cauſes nothing to be ſigned but what is approved by the later, and the King intirely confiding in him, ſigns all he preſents without reading it: for never any Prince was more eaſie, nor put greater confidence in his Miniſters: When delivred from *Olivares*, he was no longer without a Favourite then till the Queens death, which happened very ſodainly after the diſgrace of that chief Miniſter: Then he received into his privacy (as they call it here) the Nephew of the former, at preſent the moſt powerful in this Court: He is alſo one of the richeſt, and poſſeſſing the great wealth he inherited from his Uncle, contents himſelf to enjoy his fame, and neglect his maximes, which would probably be attended by the publick hatred, his politicks having been thought very corrupt and biaſſed. It is believed this Favourite makes no uſe of his Maſters coffers; and it is but neceſſary he ſpare them, they having never been ſo exhauſted; for beſides the Monthly Penſions of the Prince of *Conde*, and thoſe that follow

follow him, which are very ill paid, this Court is obliged to an extraordinary charge in *Catalonia*, and its forces being very weak there, to treat for three or four thouſand Wallons and *Germans*, of which the pooreſt foot Souldier will ſtand it in ſix ſcore crowns. The Marquis *Serra* a noble *Genoneſe* (who on that condition returned to *Barcelona*) is promiſed a hundred thouſand crowns a month to maintain that Army, and to reſiſt the *French*. The *Indian* Fleet was expected, which brought but 800 thouſand crowns on the Kings accompt the laſt year; what it would then bring was very uncertain, though it was given out to be very rich, and that it had aboard it two years Revenue.

Before the King went to *Aranjuez*, he aſſembled the Eſtates of both *Caſtiles*, which conſiſt of the Deputies of 22 Towns, each Town ſending two. Such Aſſemblies are called *las Cortes*. The King made them a Speech, and told them, that of the ten Millions of Gold, his Kingdoms yearly ſupply him with, not above three came into his Coffers, and neceſſities of State conſidered, it was his pleaſure they ſhould conſult of wayes to bring the entire ſum into his hands. That to this purpoſe every Town and Province ſhould take care themſelves to bring their proportion into his Exchequer, where he willed them to ſuppreſs many of the Officers that managed his Revenue, and devoured the greateſt part of it: after this he alſo demanded ſome augmentation. The *Cortes* met, and laboured in this affair, but it was much feared they would not conſent to ſuch

ſuch a ſuppreſſion, which would undo many, and ſome of their Relations; for the augmentation, it was believed they would not think the people able to pay any more, the miſerie and poverty of the Country conſidered. In the mean time this King, (his ten Millions of crowns excepted) draws little or nothing from the People; and *Navarre*, *Arragon*, and the Kingdom of *Valentia*, (not united to the *Caſtiles*) are not thought to bring up above two Millions.

The great expences to which his Warrs oblige him, are known to all the world, but ſome nearer home conſume the beſt of his Revenue: theſe are many Penſions, there being hardly any Grandee of *Spain*, Duke, Earl, Marquis, or Knight that hath not ſomething from the Publick: not in recompence of ſervice in War; but becauſe the moſt of them are extremely neceſſitous, in ſo much that I have been aſſured that many of them compounding with their Creditors, have aſſigned them their Penſions, reſerving only ſome ſmall ſum towards a wretched ſubſiſtance. Neither are any accompted rich (the three Favourites abovementioned excepted) but the Duke of *Alva*, the Marquis of *Leganes*, the Earl of *Ognate*, and two or three others whoſe names I have forgotten; the reſt of the Nobility wanting wherewithal to ſupply their ordinary expences. But did the King allow no Penſions to them, he payes enow to others to divert a very conſiderable part of his Incom. His Armies abound with Reformadoes, who receive pay as if actually in ſervice: it is true indeed that theſe are ſo il paid, that I connot imagine

imagin how they ſubſiſt, and I ſpoke with an *Alfieres* that came from *Portugal*, whoſe Penſion is twelve crowns a month, that proteſted he had not recived ſix in ſix year.

The Jeſuits have of late been obliged to bring ſixty thouſand crowns into the Kings Coffers, which very much diſguſted them, and allayed their zeal in theſe quarters for the Houſe of *Auſtria*. This Sum was ſhipped by them on the Indian Fleet, without regiſtring it, and upon diſcovery confiſcated according to the Law. The Jeſuit to whoſe care it was entruſted, playd his part ſo well that the Kings Officers could not find it, but that which belonged to other Cloyſters, being ſeiſed, they peached, and it became the Kings, notwithſtanding the good Fathers alleged it deſigned to build a Church in *Navarre*, in the Town where the Saint the Founder of their Order was born.

This King ſpends nothing either in Buildings or Gardens. Much of ornament might be added to his Palace, and its height require a Wall in form of a Terraſs, to ſupport its declining, that increaſes daily. A Wood below it, that ſerves only for a Shelter to Rabbits, and a Neſt for Crows, brought by *Charles* the 5th out of the *Low Countries*, might be converted into a fair Garden. The river that paſſes by it is called *Maucanarzes*, not ſo broad as its name is long; its Channel is gravelly, and it ſelf in Summer ſo low, that in *June* and *July* Coaches at the *Tour* go through it. The Bridge, or rather Cauſey, by which it is paſſed, is both long and large, and coſt I know

not

not how many thouſand Ducats; and he was no fool, that being told that *Philip* the Second beſtowed ſo much coſt on ſo poor a River, ſaid it was fit either to ſell the Bridge or buy Water.

Gentlemen here contrary to the cuſtoms of *England*, *France* and *Germany* live in Cities; few of them having any priviledges for Hunting or Hawking, n ither Mannors or Vaſſals as with us, where they are moſt of them Lords of the Pariſhes they dwell in: and indeed the quality of a private Gentleman is here ſcarcely intelligible, the people having reſpect only for Orders of Knighthood, and ſuch as are Titulados, which comprehends Dukes, Marquiſſes, and Earls. Here are yet ſome Families whom they call *Solariegas* or *de Solar Conocido*, who alone are true Gentlemen, and can derive pedigrees, of which they may have teſtimonies, called *Cartas Executorias*, and on accompt of them, enjoy ſome inconſiderable priviledges. The moſt antient of their Titles, was that of *Riccos Hombres*, very different from *Hombre Ricco*, which laſt implies no more but a rich man, but the othet antiently were the great Lords of *Spain*, before Dukes, Marquiſſes and Earls were heard of: They were covered in thoſe days in preſence of their King, and alone had deliberative voices in Aſſemblies.

Neither Governments, nor Military, nor Civil Charges are here ſold, which is not altogether ſo commendable as it ſeems at firſt ſight; for unworthy perſons (if well looked on by Favorites)

rites) may more eaſily attain them then if they paid for them, and ſeveral of antient extraction and great abilities are willing to lay out their money to put themſelves in a condition to ſerve their King with honour: neither in Countreys where Charges are moſt vendible, are they ſo to all Chapmen; but to Gentlemen only, and ſuch as are qualified for them.

All the while *Olivares* was in favour, he cauſed an ill underſtanding between the King and his wife, *Elizabeth* of *Bourbon*. In order to which (as ſome report) he ſought to corrupt his Maſter with an abominable opinion of certain graceleſs People who in *Madrid* joyned together in a Sect, and called themſelves *Alumbrados*, as much as to ſay illuminated, or (if you pleaſe) Phanaticks; theſe ſeeking to countenance themſelves in their villanies, that they might commit them with the greater liberty, held it out as a Maxim, that part of the Goſpel was miſ-underſtood, and that it was an error to believe Copulation with a woman (on what account ſoever) could render a man blameable before God.

This King is ſuppoſed to have had natural iſſue by ſeveral, but none is owned but *Don John of Auſtria*, whoſe Mother was a *Comedian*. Of legitimate Children none grew up but the Prince and the Infanta, the reſt dying very young. The Prince ſeemed couragious, but, as was conjectured, of a nature violent and cruel. Some report he was taken from ſo many Kingdoms (as whoſe ſole Heir he was conſidered) by

by an accidental connivence of *Don Pedro de Arragon* first Gentleman of his Chamber, who one night giving way to his lying with a Curtezan, he so overheat himself that next morning he fell into a violent Feavour; and the Physitians ignorant of what had passed, by letting him blood so extremely exhausted his Spirits, whose dimunition was the only cause of his Disease, that they hastened his death. *Don Pedro* either for not preventing or not discovering this to the Physitians, continues in disgrace, and though Brother of the Favorite, may not yet return to Court: Permission only being given him to dwel at one end of the Town, where he neither receives nor returns Visits with any Splendor.

The fall of *Olivares* hath been very publick in *Europe*, and made appear that Favour, which hath no other foundation than the Princes affection, nor supports it self otherwise than by the dexterity of him that possesses it, cannot be so durable, as his that established on the Basis of his good service, renders him necessary to whom he is agreeable, and it is reported that this man did sometimes buoy himself up in the Kings good affection and opinion, by the very same inconsiderable Artifices, that at last sunk him. Amongst other inventions this is discoursed; Complaint having been made that Bread was very dear, and so scarce it could hardly be had in *Madrid*, because he had taken money of all the Neighbouring Villages, to exempt them from an Obligation lay upon them, to bring a certain quantity every day to Market, he gave Order that all

that

that was in the Town, diſperſed among ſeveral Bakers, ſhould be brought and expoſed in the ſtreet, by which the King was to paſs to our Lady of *Atocha*. They to whom he gave this command performed it ſo well, that the Shops and Stals were loden. The King at ſight of ſuch plenty ſaid he perceived that they which had told him of ſcarſitie of Bread were impoſtors and lyers: For better Confirmation the *Conde* Duke Ordered they ſhould bring every day into the publick Market place all the Bread, they were obliged to, notwithſtanding the Exemptions, upon which the complaints ceaſed, and the King a long time believed that what had been told him was an effect of the Malice, of ſuch as emulated and envied his Favourite: But the Queen by her Wiſdom and Patience, at laſt ruined him, and by degrees entred on part of the Government, from which his Ambition and Jealouſie had ſo long excluded her. As ſoon as ſhe had gotten credit with the King her Husband, ſhe made him underſtand the diſorder of affairs, and danger of the Crown by his Favorites ill conduct: and this with ſo much Prudence that he was baniſhed the Court; and at laſt preparations made to bring him to this trial. The Queens chief Councellour on this *E*xtraordinary occaſion, was the Earl of *Caſtriglio*, a very near Kinſman of him ſhe deſigned againſt. They could not without great difficulty bring the King to condeſcend, but at laſt the Inquiſition concerning it ſelf, and charging him with that accurs'd Doctrine of the *Alumbrados*, and an endeavour to Corrupt the King

King with it, he was very neer being abandoned to it, but this was prevented by his death, ſuſpected to have been haſtened by poiſon, and that good turn done him by his relations, that they might the ſooner poſſeſs his wealth. *Don Lewis de Haro* inherited the beſt part of it, and to ſo great a value that I was told, by one that had it from his own mouth, his yearly Revenue amounts to 130 thouſand Crowns: it is not therefore to be wondered if he contents himſelf with the quality of Favorite, or Chief Miniſter, without a greedy hunting after all advantages he might acquire by it: but though by this he exempt himſelf from the clamors raiſed againſt his Uncle; he is yet ſupported by very few creatures, not endeavouring to make any, according to the Paſquil, comparing him with his Predeceſſor. Two perſons have ruined *Spain*, one by doing ill to all, the other by doing good to none.

Before he came into favour, he was in the Coach with *Villa Medina*, when he was poniarded. This Gentleman was the gallanteſt Courtier, and greateſt wit of *Spain*: the Curious relate many of his Reparties, of which this is none of the worſt; coming into a Church, a Baſon was preſented him, the uſual receptacle of Money to redeem ſouls from Purgatory; and he (demanding what ſum ſerved to deliver one, and being anſwered, what he pleaſed) put in two piſtols; withal, deſiring to know if the ſoul were free, which the other aſſuring him, he took again his two piſtols, telling him he had

done enough; the ſoul being in no danger of returning. Of all his Gallantries, none coſt him dearer then that of a Mask: he was in love with the Queen, which he mannaged with ſo little caution; it occaſioned him to be cenſured raſh and indiſcreet; the goodneſs of this Princeſs inclining her to favour men of parts, cauſed her (altogether ignorant of his folly) to look well on him. This haſtened his fall, for beſides that he could not forbear to mention his Miſtreſs, which terms better becomming a gallant then ſubject, he appeared in a Mask, in a Suit embroidered with pieces of Eight, with this word *Mis amores ſon reales.* This, though equivocal, gave occaſion of diſcourſe to all the world, becauſe it was very evident, that he rather deſigned the eminent object of his love, then the avarice of which he accuſed himſelf. The violence of his paſſion, made him provide a Comedy with Scenes, in which he ſpent 20 thouſand Crowns, which (to gain an opportunity of embracing the Queen, whilſt he carried her out of the danger) he ſet on fire, and with them burnt almoſt all the houſe. Subjects that incite their Maſters jealouſie, ſtand on precipices. This man was ſtabbed in his Coach at noon-day: when accompanied by *Don Lewis de Haro.*

One may very reaſonably inquire the occaſions of the great expences of *Spaniards*, and how they undo themſelves, little of pomp or luxury appearing amongſt them, and few of them going into the wars. They which are well acquainted with *Madrid*, aſſure, that moſt

Families

Families are ruined by Women: every man keeps a Miſtreſs, or is beſotted on a Curtiſan; who (none in the world being more witty, impudent, or better skilled in that accurſed miſtery;) as ſoon as they enſnare any, plume them to the quick; they muſt have Robes of 30 piſtols price, which they call *Gardepies*, other accoutrements anſwerable, Jewels, Houſhoidſtuff, and Coaches. To deny any thing to that Sex, is accounted diſhonourable. I was aſſured that the Admiral of *Caſtile* (none of the richeſt) gave at once to one of theſe Cattle, Fourſcore thouſand Crowns. One of the *Palavicini* of *Genoua*, told me, that not long before, an inclination coſt him Two thouſand Crowns, and finding himſelf delayed by the Baggage to whom he made his Addreſſes, he abandoned her, without obtaining any thing. Here are four Proceſſions without the Town, whereas at ſo many Solemn Rendezvouſes they endeavour to ſet out themſelves. All Gallants then preſent them, which if any neglect, they are loſt, and no more thought perſons of Honour; this makes all with emulation ſtrive to adorn theſe infamous Creatures, and glory not a little in it. No Town in the World offers ſo many to publick view ever at all hours of the day, all Streets and Walks are full of them; they wear black Vails with which they hide their faces, but diſcover one eye. They accoſt all men boldly, being no leſs impudent, than diſſolute. In *Italy* they are more modeſt, not ſeeking Men as here; and as the diſorder is univerſal, ſo the miſchief cauſed by it is almoſt in-

fallible, Theſe Sinners yet enjoy alone all the liberty of *Madrid*, for Ladies of Quality, and honeſt Women, ſcarce ever go abroad, neither by Coach, nor otherwayes, to take the Air. Moſt of them hear Maſs in their own Houſes, and excepting ſome few Viſits, never appear in Publick, and then in Sedans. It muſt needs be granted, that this Sex hath here a great deal of Wit, exerciſing it ſelf in Reparties; and this with much liberty, One I have heard of, that ſeeing on a Wall the figure of what Women are ſo careful to conceal, with this Inſcription, *Without bottom*; with a Coal inſtantly added, *For want of line*.

Nothing is ſo frequent, as the alterations Love is pleaſed to make in the inclinations of thoſe he inflames, liberal men by them becoming prodigal, and avaritious liberal; and he whom he inſpires not to ſpend all for the ſakes of Ladies, hazards here to be eſteemed a Beaſt the reſt of his dayes, and perſons of a parſimonious humor, and ſordid thrift, how high ſoever their birth be, ſhall be thought baſe, and the infamy of this defect follow them to their Graves.

At the Tour, the Curtains of their Coaches are uſually drawn cloſe, and if a man be in their company, none ſpeak to them, otherwiſe they may be diſcourſed with very freely; They all paint, and lay on the Ceruſe and Vermillion ſo groſſely, they diſguſt the Beholders. In ſhort, they ae generally unhandſom and unwholſom, and paint as much to hide the ſymptoms of the Pocks in their Faces, as to beautifie them. Huſ-

bands

bands that desire to have their Wives live honestly, begin so arbitrarily, that they treat them almost like Servants, lest by a handsom liberty, they should pass the limits of Chastity, little understood, and worse observed by this Sex. In *Andalusia*, they say, the Husbands are yet more violent, using them like Children or Slaves. If at meals they suffer them to approach the Table, it is not to eat, but serve them; with which if the more Civil dispence, they give them meat from the Table on the ground, where they sit on Carpets or Cushions, like *Turks* or *Taylors*; in which manner, they also sit in Churches, and in most Houses, instead of Chairs, you see only a few Cushions set one on another, by the walls side.

The Tour of Coaches when in Town, circulates in the high street, otherwise in the *Prado*, near *de Retiro*, or by the Rivolet below the Palace. The greatest Lords appear with little splendor above the rest, only their Coaches are drawn by four Mules, and attended by some few Footmen more than ordinary; the Pages have place in the Boots of the Coaches. They wear not Liveries; but most commonly are cloathed in black; scarce any of them have coloured Lace, except on the Sleeves: The Kings are still worst clad, and worst paid. In all Great mens Houses, they every Night eat up all that remains, and burn all the Candles, consuming also the Oyle and Salt, the Servants otherwise taking it as Vails.

Grandees of *Spain* are of two sorts, this Honour being sometimes personal, sometimes hereditary. The first, the King bids be covered themselves; the second, themselves and Heirs for ever. This is all the Ceremony in making a Grandee, neither do any other priviledges belong to it; so that it is but a Chimerical and Airy Honour, without any profit; they which marry the Heiress of a Family of a Grandee of *Spain*, that is such hereditarily, become Grandees in right of their Wives.

This is all I could learn concerning Grandees, but Spanish Books mention three sorts, one of which the King commands to be covered before they speak to him, another after they have spoken but before he answers; and the last cover not, till they have spoken and he answered. When the King creates a Duke, he is also a Grandee, and the consequence is good; he is a Duke, therefore a Grandee; but not he is a Grandee, therefore a Duke; many Marquesses and Earls being also Grandees. Their Wives sit in the Queens presence, and she rises at their coming in. The King in all Edicts and Letters calls them Princes: In his Chappel, they have a Seat called the Grandees Bench, where, without regard to Antiquity, they sit as they come promiscuously. The Title of *Senniora* belongs to them by patent of *Philip* the Third. These are, in a manner, all the advantages they have above other Gentlemen, who, as well as they, are exempted from all Taxes, unless when the Publick is in danger; at such times, they have been so hea-

vily

vily burthen'd, that they have paid near half their Revenue. They are not oblieged to quarter, unleſs when the Court goes a Progreſs; but to ſpeak in general of the Spaniſh Nobility, they have a very conſiderable priviledge (at leaſt if it be made good to them) which is, that how great ſoever their Debts be, the Revenue only can be attached, the reſt being in *Mayorazgo* (as I underſtand it) entailed, which goes farther; ſo that when the Revenue is ſeized on, the Judges will appoint the Gentleman, whoſe Quality oblieges him to keep Servants, Horſes, Coaches, *&c.* a Stipend ſufficient to ſupport him according to it; and though he owes as much as a Revenue of 50 thouſand Crowns can be worth, and hath but 30, his Creditors can pretend to no more, than the overplus of what is ordered for his ſubſiſtence.

Here are very few Knights of the Golden Fleece, nor many pretenders to that Honour, becauſe difficult to be obtained, and bringing no profit. It was lately ſent to the Archduke *Leopold*, eldeſt Son of the Emperour *Ferdinand* the Third. The other Orders are *Calatrava*, known by a Red Roſe worn on the Cloak, and *Alcantara* by a green one, St. *Jago* wears a Sword gules or an Arrow, theſe are near of an equal eſteem and dignity; theſe Knights have ſometimes profit by the Commands they now and then obtain by the Kings favour. A great number of them were ſlain before *Lerida*, ſince which time it is not believed there are above 1800 in all the three Orders, whereas before there were above

4000. *Alcantara* is moſt eſteemed, which they that pretend to, muſt prove themſelves Gentlemen of four Deſcents, two being ſufficient to either the other.

In the ſecond Court of the Palace, are Chambers for ſeveral Councils. The Council of State aſſembles under the Kings Apartment, where the welfare of all his Dominions is conſulted. There is alſo a Council of War, where the wayes of executing what hath been reſolved in the Council of State, are taken into conſideration: Near theſe is the Council of *Caſtile*, called *Roial*; it is very powerful, and conſiſts of Seventeen Counſellors and a Preſident. Many Affairs of the other Councils are referred hither, eſpecially of the Council of the *Indies*, in which the people of both *Caſtiles* are very much concerned. *Arragon* hath alſo its Council, *Italy* and *Flanders* theirs. The Council for the *Indies*, and the Kings Revenue called *de la Hazienda*, ſits in another place; ſo doth that *de las Ordenes*, which determines the differences of the Orders of Knighthood, and Judges of the proofs of Gentry of ſuch as pretend to them. All theſe are within the Palace Walls. That of the Inquiſition hath its Tribunal in the Houſe of the Preſident of that holy Office: That of the *Cruzada*, which gives Diſpenſations to eat Fleſh on Saturdayes, and ſome other priviledges granted by Popes to the King, is alſo held at the Preſidents. None of theſe pretend to be ſo abſolute, as the Inquiſition. I have been aſſured, that it is not alwayes in the Kings power to free thoſe that are accuſed there:

And

And though this Juriſdiction derives its Authority from the Pope, in ſome Conjunctures it hath had no regard to his Orders. It extends not only to thoſe which in matters of Religion go contrary to the Church, but is a ſharp curb to all whoſe temper gives jealouſie to the State, and diſpatches them without noiſe, as was intended againſt *Antonio Perez*, and the Duke of *Olivares*, had he not dyed. All reſolutions of theſe ſeveral Councils, paſs through that of State, before put in execution, which examines whether there be any thing in them, contrary to the general good of all the members of the Crown.

A Mornings, becauſe then all the Councils aſſemble, there is a great crowd in the Palace, yet only below in the two Courts, whither they which have Buſineſs or Suits (as they ſay here, *para pretenſiones*) come to follow them. Amongſt others, you may ſee many undertakers of Levies of Souldiers, ſolliciting their Diſburſments. When Horſe are raiſed, all the Horſes are brought into the *Piazza* before the Palace, where one Ear of each of them is cut off. By this mark they are made known to be the Kings, and a Trooper ſelling one of them, or one of them being found in the poſſeſſion of a man that ſerves not the King, he may be ſeized, and carried away without any formality of Law; but the Troopers ſometimes cut off the other Ear, and then preſenting the Captain ſome Dollars, obliged him to depoſe before the Commiſſary, that the Horſe is dead, after which he is ſold without difficulty. This is one of the greateſt profits of

Captains

Captains of Horſe in *Catalonia*, as they which have ſerved there informed me.

It is not only very difficult to raiſe men for *Catalonia*, but to maintain them, when brought thither: enduring much hardneſs, they quickly die, *Flemings* and *Germans* eſpecially; *Caſtilians* and *Neopolitans* disband and run away, the latter getting into *France*, preſent themſelves there to the General, who uſually gives them a piece of money to bear their charges to their Country, the other coaſting to the *Pireneans* on the ſide of *Languedoc*, return into *Caſtile* by *Navarre* or *Biſcai*. Old Soldiers, of what Nation ſoever, know the Country, and will certainly eſcape, young ones, beſides that they are of little uſe, laſt not, as being unaccuſtomed to ſo great fatigue.

The War here is more troubleſome to the King of *Spain* than any where elſe, and more important, being in a part of his Dominion, of which he is very jealous, and where he would redeem any loſs by twice the value in *Italy* or *Flanders*. They which penetrate into the ſecrets of this Court, aſſure that it hath a kind of contempt for loſſes in other places, but thoſe in *Catalonia* touch to the quick, and are as ſo many wounds the State ſeems to receive in its heart, by which it appears, that they which have concluded the certain way of ſhaking the Spaniſh Monarchy, to be by making war upon it in its own Countrey, have doubtleſly very well diſcovered where it is weakeſt.

To defend it ſelf, it muſt be at a vaſt expence, for

for very ſmall forces, becauſe in great want, not only of Victual and Amunition, but much more of men In this it is become defective but in this laſt age; for by what *Cicero* ſaid of it, we find it otherwiſe in time of the *Romans*, who giving the epethite of couragious to *England*, gave that of populous to *Spain*, reſerving to themſelves that of Piety only. This alteration is eaſily underſtood by thoſe that conſider, how the falling of the *Gothes* and *Vandals* into this Country, with the irruption of the *Moors*, that immediately followed it, ſcattered the greateſt part of the Inhabitants: and when theſe ſtrangers had ſo well ſettled themſelves, that the Cities again abounded with people, *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, that conquered all *Spain*, deſtroyed a great many, and exiled more.

The diſcovery of the *Weſt-Indies*, that happened ſoon after, drew away great Colonies, and peopled the new World with the *Spaniards*, as well by the great concourſe of ſuch as (finding it a better Country than that they abandoned) ſeated themſelves there, as by a neceſſity of furniſhing Navies, and tranſporting Soldiers to form an Army, and Garriſon Forts and Cities; and this in ſuch manner, that the beſt of *Spain* is now in the *Indies*, the Kings wants having obliged him to ſell his Subjects for gold, though neither the Mines of *Potoſi*, nor all *Peru*, are able to ſupply the expence he is fain to be at for want of men; neither do the Gallions ever bring wealth enough to diſcharge the States debts; for beſides that the greateſt part of it belongs to parti-

particular perſons of *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Genoua*, and *France*, that which comes on the Kings account is due to ſeveral that have aſſignations upon it: So that *Spain* is no more than the channel by which the Gold of the *Indies* paſſes to diſcharge it ſelf in the vaſt Ocean of other Countries: and therefore in that ſimilitude, where the world is compared to a living body, *Spain* is the mouth, which receives, chaws, and prepares the nouriſhment, but immediately conveys it to other parts, retaining nothing to it ſelf but the ſavour alone, or the little that accidentally ſticks between the teeth. And he had reaſon, that conſidering *Spain*, where little Gold appears, all other Nations abounding with her Piſtols, ſaid ſhe ſerves them as the *Damnati ad Metalla* did the ancient Emperors; or elſe that ſhe is like the Aſs of *Arcadia*, that laden with Gold, fed on thiſtles. But that which compleated her deſolation, was the general expulſion of the Moors. There were many reaſons for the quitting her ſelf of ſo curſed a Generation, and impoiſoning the waters thereby to deſtroy all the Chriſtians, having been imputed to them, and their continual correſpondencies with the *Africans*, *Turks*, and other Enemies of the Kingdom diſcovered, *Philip* the third poſſibly could not have taken a better reſolution, than at once to free himſelf from the continual apprehenſion of them: Though it may well be objected, that a good Polititian ought as little as may be to make uſe of ſuch univerſal puniſhments, by which a State is more enfeebled,

than

than amended; and that when with the dagger at the breſt, we go about to free our ſelves from ſome ill we apprehend, we act rather as deſperate then as couragious and prudent: that it is ignorance of lenitives that forces ſo ſoon to cut and cauteriſe: That it is a greater vertue to inſtruct the vicious, and convert them, then to drive them from their homes, and ſhut the doors againſt them: In a word, that we may oppoſe errors without deſtroying perſons. It is very certain that this Edict coſt the King of *Spain* a great many rich and good Subjects, of no turbulent principles, and that with time might have been made ſenſible of the truth, and profeſſion of Chriſtianity. But they were altogether deprived of the means of it; for if they embraced Chriſtianity, diſſimulation was objected againſt them; and that it was only to avoid the rigour of the Edict. This gave opportunity to the avarice of thoſe that executed it to play its game, paſſing by without moleſtation ſuch as bribed them, and ſuffering them to continue quiet in their houſes.

What diſcourſes ſoever are made on this extraordinary rigour, which ſome have admired as a policy very high and generous, and others blamed as a moſt unnatural cruelty, it having deprived a King of his Subjects, and almoſt a Nation of its native Country: It is very certain, that ſince that time *Spain* hath been a deſert, and could never recover the loſs (as is reported) of ſome millions of people: But beſides this her voluntary depopulating her ſelf, the Indies prevailing

prevailing either on the neceſſity or inclination of her Subjects, draw them ſtill away, by frequent and numerous Colonies, in ſuch manner that it is believed more people have left *Spain* than at preſent remain in it.

After theſe misfortunes (at firſt looked on as incomparable felicities by thoſe which boaſted the poſſeſſion of the Weſt-Indies, and expulſion of the Moors) Wars aroſe, and ſo violent, that it is computed, that in twenty years they conſumed a million and a half of Inhabitants, and that the Plague, which often afflicted this Country, carried away near another million; ſo that ever ſince *Philip* the third, *Spain* hath extremely waſted both in men and money: this is very true, and in ſo extraordinary a manner, that if its Enemies had underſtood it, and thoſe that were left behind had not after their ſeparation differed amongſt themſelves, the *Spaniards* would have been altogether unable to have reſiſted them.

Beſides this great ambiguity of good or evil, which they which judge according to the event or their own ſenſe, obſerve in the diſcovery of the Indies, and expulſion of the Moors, another policy is ſpoken of, which not directed againſt the Kingdom in general, attacques only that part of it which is moſt noble and illuſtrous. *Philip* the ſecond, ſtyled the *Solomon* of his age, apprehending that the Grandees and Nobility might at ſome time or other make uſe of their wealth and power againſt his authority, or that of his Succeſſors; and remembring that they had diſcovered

diſcovered their turbulent inclinations under *Charles* the fifth, in ſuch a manner, as had like to have given him great troubles, thought he could not better ſecure himſelf againſt ſuch of them as meant ill, than by the weakneſs of that whole body; to which purpoſe he caſt the ſeeds of vanity and envy amongſt them, increaſing the number of Grandees, Dukes, Marquiſes, and Earls. The ſmoke of this drove from their Families all thoughts of profit, and their honours, redoubled their expenſes, by every ones endeavouring to ſurpaſs his Companion.

When he ſaw them deeply engaged, he gave way to attacquing their Lands, and deprived them of the Priviledge of *Mayoraſgo*, the moſt conſiderable that belonged to them; and that they might not have in their hands any places of ſtrength, or houſes to retire to when they had a mind to be troubleſome, he forbad them to repair their Caſtles: and ſuch as have travailed between *Valentia* and *Madrid*, obſerve many ancient Caſtles advantagiouſly ſcituated for commanding the Country, that decay and fall to the ground. Thus by heaping honours on them he took away their power, and obliged them to a greater charge; and by ſparing them that of keeping up their Caſtles, deprived them of the ſubmiſſion and reſpect their Tenants formerly had for them: Since this they have loſt daily, and complain that that Prince did not only clip, but cut off the wings of their Predeceſſors, reducing them to that inconſiderable condition they are in at preſent; which, like original ſin, ſo cloſely follows,

follows, that it deſtroys ſuch of them as find not remedy, by obtaining ſome employment at a diſtance from the Court, by means of which the publick Treaſure may paſs through their hands. Then they neglect not to fill their baggs, and inrich themſelves and Poſterities. It is reported, that beſides thoſe which endeavour to repair their fortunes in *Italy* and *Flanders*, by ſome employment ſuitable to their birth, many return rich from the *Indies*. I ſpeak not of Viceroys, who are canged every 3 years, and lay up millions, it being ſufficiently known, that very many Officers under them make great advantages, and that in *Madrid* they hide the Treaſures they bring home even from the Sun that gave them birth, leſt their diſcovery cauſe an account of their adminiſtration to be demanded, or they be obliged to lend the King a good part without any hope of ever being paid: ſo that they neither dare put their mony to uſe, nor buy land with it, but chooſe rather to eat up the main Stock than to hazard it: Thus by little and little they conſume what they ſo ſodainly amaſſed, of which their Family ſometimes enjoys nothing beyond the ſecond generation.

They which are employed in the Kings Councils or Treaſurie, have a certainer and ſecurer way of enriching themſelves, becauſe ſeated at the helm of Government. Theſe men thriving without any apprehenſion of being moleſted, and demanding account of others, themſeves not obliged to render it to any; make uſe with ſplendour of what they have acquired, building

Palaces

palaces of extraordinary expence in a Countrey where Stone and Mortar are exceſſive dear. Their plenty alone is with oſtentation, that of others ſo reſerved, and as it were baſhfull, that it often pretends neceſſity that it may avoid being really reduced to it: and ſome Dutch Inhabitants in *Madrid* told us, that ſome few years before, a Tax had been laid upon them, only becauſe they were thought to be rich and at their eaſe: The manner of doing it ſeems very ſevere. A rich Merchant being ſent for to a Committee of the Council, was told that the King commanded him to bring three or four thouſand crowns into his Exchequer; if he went about to excuſe himſelf as unable, or by reaſon of mony due to him from the King, it ſignified nothing; and he was ſent away with notice, that if he paid it not in three dayes he muſt go ſix leagues from *Madrid* in cuſtody of the Miniſters of Juſtice on his expence That time expired without paying, he was ſent 20 leagues from the Court. They which paid at firſt freed themſelves from this charge and trouble; they that were obſtinate againſt what appeared ſo unjuſt to them, ſuffered both, and were at laſt conſtrained to pay what had been impoſed before they were permitted to return to their houſes.

Gown-men and Pen-men are here the richeſt, and none ſpoken of but Councellors, Senators, and Secretaries, who from very poor beginnings ſodainly become wealthy: They which manage the affairs of the *Indies* are thought to ſur-

paſs all others: and the Earl of *Pigneranda*, who ſerved his Maſter ſo well in the negotiations of *Munſter* and the *Low-Countries*, and is the Favourites Favourite, choſe rather to be Preſident of the Council of the *Indies*, than of that of *Flanders*, which queſtionleſs had been more proper for him than any other.

That Council advantages it ſelf as well by the employments of which it hath the diſpoſal, as by all Merchandiſe that paſſes to and again: Amongſt which wine makes a very profitable and ſpeedy return, none but Spaniſh being ſuffered to be tranſported, which is ſold with ſo great gain, that that which in *Andaluſia*, or other part where it grows, coſts one crown, is worth 6 or 7 there.

That this may be continued, planting Vines is there prohibited on pain of death, though that ſoil would as well bear them as any part of *Spain*. Traffick in general (as I before obſerved) is not equal to what it hath been; for which (amongſt many other pretended here) this reaſon may be given, that the profit made on occaſion of it by the King and his Miniſters hath diſcouraged Merchants, to the loſs of a very great Revenue to the Crown: whatever is ſhipped for the *Indies* muſt be regiſtred, and pay the tenth penny for fault of which it is confiſcated. By this the wealth of the Fleet is known to a farthing, as well what belongs to the King as to particular perſons. Some years ſince his Catholick Majeſty (wanting money) laid hands on that which appertained to Merchants, under the no-

tion

tion indeed of borrowing, but (beſides that ſuch forced lones ſuit not well with Merchants affairs) it was never returned: For which reaſon many do not regiſter their Gold and Silver, but chuſe rather to combine with the Captains (though it coſt them more) than to abandon all for fair words. Before the Fleets arrival at Cadis, *Engliſh* or *Holland* Ships meet it either near that Port, or that of *St. Lucar*, and receive there from ſuch Captains as they correſpond with, that which is on account of thoſe that ſend them, and carry it away before it enters any *Spaniſh* Haven; and even the Merchants of *Sevil* and other *Spaniſh* Cities ſend their money into thoſe Countries, where they may freely diſpoſe of it without fear to have it ſeiſed on. It is ſaid that the Fleet comes this year more rich than uſually; but that the wealthieſt ſhip is ſtranded, and uncertain whether the ſilver all ſaved. But they which will have nothing loſt report that more Gold and Silver hath been recovered than was regiſtred, if ſo the King will have the advantage of it by confiſcation.

If we conſider the general Government of theſe Kingdoms, it ſeems to move ſo ſteadily, that it declines not at all from thoſe bold Politicks which are never diſturbed, and that trample on the ſharpeſt thorns as reſolutely as if they walked on roſes: but going to particulars we ſhall diſcover, that the *Spaniards* who give much to appearances and the exterior, uſe no fewer meens and grimaces in their publick affairs, then in their particular comportment.

In the Streets, at the Tour, and in the Theaters, where many eyes are upon them, they ſeem very grave, ſerious, and reſerved: but in private, and to thoſe that are familiarly acquainted with them, they act in a manner ſo different, you would not take them for the ſame perſons, being as vain, wanton, and humorous as other Nations.

The Politicks of every Country are of a temper and genius like that of the people that inhabit it; and the *Spaniſh* conſidered by an unbiaſſed judgement are ſo as well as the reſt.

At firſt view they ſeem firm, conſtant, reſolute, and entirely ſwayed by reaſon and judgment; but coming nearer, and examining them, piece by piece, we may diſcover weakneſſes we could not have imagined them capable of. Their pace is ſometimes ſo unſteady they ſtumble in the ſmootheſt way, and ſometimes ſo poſitive, on account of Reputation and Intereſt, they haz rd all for trifles; but always ſo ſlow, that of a thouſand of their Artifices, ſcarce any one ſucceeds: I ſhall not give ſuch examples as I might of this truth in times paſt, particularly, in the revolutions of *Flanders* under *Philip* the II. and what happened during the League in *France* in the ſame Kings Raign, being provided of later in the inſurrection of *Catalonia*, and revolt of *Portugal*, both foreſeen, without application of neceſſary remedies, not only, becauſe of obſtinacy, but of irreſolution and ſlowneſs. I will mention no more here then what is diſcuſſed of at *Madrid*: opinions very much

differ about Sequeſtration of the Goods of the Genoueſes, ſome declaring it to have been very juſt and prudent; others the contrary: but all agreeing, that having been ſo vigorouſly begun, it ought to have been continued in the ſame manner, and being an affair of reputation and intereſt, that ſo great a Monarch ſhould not have boggled at going through with it, or an accommodation appearing neceſſary, by reaſon of the prejudice this Rupture gave to affairs, they ſhould not have moved ſo heavily towards it, becauſe in that interval they ſuffered for want of returns from *Genoua*, which during ſuch a ſuſpenſion they could not ſupply with the Money they had ſeiſed.

They which negotiated in this Court for that Republick, endeavoured to make underſtood that the Siege of *Arras* failed the year before, becauſe the Merchants recalled the Bills of Exchange they had drawn on *Antwerp*; but the Spaniſh Miniſters would not acknowledge this, though it was evident they began to have ſome light of it. In the mean time, punctilios only ſpan out a year before matters could be accommoded, though the Spaniards were no leſs deſirous of it then the Genoueſes; though theſe many demurs had no other end but to ſave the Spaniſh reputation, they failed peradventure of that effect; what had paſſed was nullified by the agreement; what had been ſeiſed, releaſed, and the diſpute about *Final*, which had cauſed it, referred to arbitration.

They had long been agreed of all that was ſubſtantial; but a punctilio of honour cauſed the execution to be delayed, it was this: The Republick would not ſet at liberty the priſoners taken before *Finale*, unleſs the King asked them to do it, and the King would have them ſent home before he made any propoſal: all being like to break off an expedient, was found (by means of Marquis *Serra*, brother of him that commands in *Catalonia*) that the Ambaſſador ſhould viſit the Earl of *Ognate*, and ask him, if he thought the Republick might oblige his Majeſty by ſetting the priſoners at liberty, and the other anſwering yes, all ſhould be ended; but they add, that this Earl, who is both high and crafty, and that at his return from *Naples* had been the firſt cauſe of the miſunderſtanding, ſoundly ratled the Ambaſſador: In this proceeding, appears to me a very great zeal in the Spaniſh Miniſters, in reſenting the affront done them by the Republick, but it continued not, and the honour of it was blemiſhed by uſeleſs delays, all at laſt being concluded on conditions, that might have been obtained at firſt.

The good underſtanding that hath continued ſeveral years between the French and Genouſes, cauſed the firſt of theſe to offer their aſſiſtance to the other towards righting them againſt the Spaniſh violence; on account of which the Republick held it ſelf ſo much obliged to the French King, that it ſent *Lazaro Spinola*, a Noble Citizen, in Quality of Extraordinary Ambaſſador

baſſador, to return thanks for the aſſiſtance and protection offered; that difference gave the Genoueſes ſuch diſtaſte of the Spaniſh Alliance, that it moved them to do this to thoſe they had formerly looked on as the greateſt enemies of this liberty. If we except ſuch in *Genoua* as by Alliance and Intereſt are bound to the Spaniſh party, the reſt of their inclinations are very contrary to what they were in their Fathers days during the Reign of *Francis* the I. of *France*, and the Genoueſes have at preſent no other kindneſs for the Spaniards, then a Creditor for a Debtor, out of whoſe hands he would fain recover what belongs to him; after which they would little value them: but however the Genoueſes comport themſelves, their patience will never oblige their debtors to ſatisfie them, who think they do enough when they pay the intereſt without any longer conſidering the principal, which the Spaniards are well enough content to be thought unable to diſcharge, whether it be ſo to free themſelves from being demanded it, or that the neceſſity of their affairs obliges them to it.

This in the mean time is a good caution to the Genoueſes, by little and little to free themſelves from the Spaniſh clutches. All ſtrangers, what ſervices ſoever they may have done them, ought to fear them, they conſidering themſelves and intereſts only,, in ſuch manner that the *Italians* and *Flemings* that are this Kings ſubjects, are uſed no more favourably then if born under another Maſter: If they pretend to imploy-

ments, either at Court or in the Armies, they are told they are not natural Spaniards, who engroſs all, as well to keep up the glory of the Nation, as out of diffidence of others, whom they in a manner declare incapable of all truſt becauſe not born in *Spain*: this Countrey are nevertheleſs abounds in ſtrangers, but they only Artificers and Mercenaries invited by gain, and that meddle with nothing but their pedling traffick. It is thought that there are above 40 thouſand French in *Madrid*, who wearing the Spaniſh habit, and calling themſelves *Burgundinians*, *Walloons* and *Lorrainers*, keep up Commerce and Manufacture; it concerns them to conceal their Countrey, for if it be diſcovered, they are obliged to pay a daily Pole-money of about a penny to the Town, and, any bad ſucceſs happening to the publick, appearing in the ſtreets, are liable to a thouſand inſolencies, even to blows.

They that know what number of ſtrangers are in this Town report, that would they undertake it, they might make themſelves maſters, and drive out the *Spaniards*.

Such as have buſineſs, or intend to ſtay any time, habit themſelves after the manner of the Countrey, which we muſt have done had we been *para pretenſiones* (as they call it;) we muſt then have put on the Caſſock and all the reſt of the Caſtilian Harneſs, none being welcome to the Court without it: nor can any ſpeak to the King unleſs clothed in black, in which they are ſo punctual, that an Envoye from the Prince

of

of *Conde* was fain to wait till he ſuited himſelf in that colour before he could have Audience; even Women, and of thoſe the looſeſt, leaſt deſirous to appear ſuch, immediately ſolicite ſtrangers to quit the habit of their Countrey, which cauſes them to be the more obſerved when they make their viſits. The Spaniards wear a Caſſock with deep skirts which ſits very cloſe to the body from the neck to the hanches, a black leather Girdle, which buckles on the Breaſt, or toward the Navil; their Breeches are ſo ſtreight, that for more eaſie putting them on and off, they are buttoned at the ſides towards the bottom; their ſhooes are ſhaped exactly to their feet, with narrow ſoles; and a little Foot and large calf of the leg, are in ſuch requeſt, that Gallants bind their feet about with Riband, to their no ſmall torment, whilſt by quilted ſtockins they put themſelves perfectly in the mode: their ſilk ſtockins are knit very open, almoſt like Net-work, which they ſtretch very ſtreight upon white, that is ſeen through them; they wear no longer broad brimmed Hats, but very narrow ones lined with Taffata; they eſteem it very gallant, and of more then ordinary magnificence, to wear Hatbands of many broad black Bone-laces, which doubtleſly coſt as much as Plumes, they ſending for them to *France* or *Flanders*: they are not curious in their Linnen, uſing little Bonelace on it.

The reaſon of their beginning to dreſs themſelves from above, and to button from below, is not to be contrary to other nations in all they

they do, but becauſe the Air is ſo penetrating, that if they be not very careful to keep their breaſts warm a mornings, they hazard ſickneſs; many for neglecting this, having ſuffered terrible accidents, and loſt the uſe of their Members; this hath alſo happened to others by leaving their windows open a nights: Black Bays and Rattin is their Winters wear; in Summer they uſe Taffata Suits, but leave not off the Baiſe Cloak and Caſſock.

The firſt of *May* we ſaw the Tour of Coaches without the gate of *Toledo*, this is one of the moſt celebrated, and at it appear many of all ſorts, ſome drawn by four Mules, if Dukes or great Lords, with a Poſtillion, and the former Mules faſtened by long Harneſs; ſuch as have ſix Mules, you may conclude belong to perſons very eminent, who are not allowed this Magnificence but without the Town, which prohibition was occaſioned by the Kings being told that the Tour was little frequented, by reaſon of the vanity of ſuch as unable to appear with ſix Mules, forbore it, that they might not ſeem leſs then thoſe with whom they pretend equality.

No Coachman ſits before the Coach, but on one of the foremoſt Mules; this having been forbidden by the Conde Duke, who had a ſecret revealed by the Coachman: they almoſt all uſe Mules, ſince the Coach-horſes were either effectually taken away, or threatened to be ſent into *Catalonia*. The breed of horſes is by this means ſo neer loſt, that if ſomething be not

not done to prevent it, *Spain* will be entirely disfurniſhed, the greateſt part of Mares being reſerved to bear Mules, the profit of them being great by reaſon of a quick and advantagious Market. The King of *Portugal* hath remedied this, by forbidding the uſe of Mules, and the Clergy refuſing to obey under pretence of certain priviledges, he gave them exemption, but on pain of death forbad the Farriers to ſhooe any Mule, by which means he eaſily reduced them to obſervance of his order.

The glory of this ſolemnity principally conſiſts in the bravery of the Ladies, who are extraordinarily induſtrious to appear with ſplendor, putting on their richeſt accoutrements, they forget not Ceruſe and Vermillion: they are ſeen in divers poſtures in their ſervants Coaches, ſome making a half diſcovery of themſelves, others with open Curtains, expoſing their gallantry and beauty; ſuch whoſe ſervants cannot or will not accommodate them with Coaches, ſtand in the ſtreets that paſs to the place where the Tour is made, or at one end of it.

Part of their liberty, or rather licentiouſneſs conſiſts in an indifferent demanding of any to pay for Lemons, Wafers, Sweet-meats or Perfumes, which are carried up and down to be ſold; they give intimation of this by thoſe that ſell them, and it is accounted a great incivility to refuſe, though for ſix penny worth of ware one pay a Crown.

Here

Here appear alſo many fair Horſes with rich Saddles, and their Mains and Tails tied with Ribbands; the Riders are either ſuch Gallants as have lent their Coaches to Ladies, or ſuch others as having no Coaches, are willing on horſeback to enjoy the pleaſure of the Tour. After many circuits, and the view of the ſeveral files of Coaches; evening coming on, all make a ſtand, and in their Coaches eat ſuch proviſions as they have brought with them. This cuſtom is not peculiar to this ſolemnity, but almoſt every day, eſpecially Sundays, you walk amongſt Bevers and Collations; ſo much the Spaniards are pleaſed to Feaſt in the field, though but on an Onion, a Salad, or a few hard Eggs.

Hither alſo come ſome Women of Quality with their Husbands, and Gallants with their Miſtreſſes, who being under their eye comport themſelves ſo modeſtly, they hardly looke on any, or return a ſalute. Ordinary Citizens are diſperſed about the fields, or ſit on the River ſide, or ſome corner of the Medow or green Corn: they feaſt on very ſlender proviſion with much Majeſty and Jollity, accompanied by ſome friend, or their Wives and Families. I have been aſſured, that beſides theſe ſlight debauches, the Spaniards in their houſes ſeldom or never Treat one another: and they which have been at their Feaſts add, that the diſhes, aſſoon as ſet on the Table, vaniſh, each gueſt ſeiſing one with this word *Con licentia*, to ſend it to his Miſtriſs, in ſuch manner that the company is ſometimes

ſometimes without any meat, and almoſt ever without ſo much as taſting the beſt.

At this time the King is uſually at *Aranjuez*, from whence he often comes to view the Tour, and having ridden about, returns without entring the Town, which at firſt ſeemed to me but a poor diverſion, it being Seven long Leagues from *Aranjuez* to *Madrid*; but conſidering how ſwiftly he paſſes them, with Six Mules, ever driven at their beſt ſpeed, and changed at half way, I could neither think it tedious nor inconvenient, the ſeven Leagues being diſpatched in little more then three hours; but I could never apprehend what pleaſure he can take at the Tour, ſince as he paſſes by, all Curtains out of reſpect, are drawn, ſo that he ſees nothing but the Coaches, though the deſign of it is only to appear with ſplendor, and enjoy the view of all that is gallant: Reſpect here queſtionleſs deſtroys the pleaſure it augments in other Countreys, where at the Princes approach, all make a ſtand, and Women unmask,

The 5th of *May* we went to *Aranjuez* to ſee the Court; this pleaſant ſeat where the King every Spring reſides a moneth, is certainly very agreeable, and the Spaniards that ſee nothing equal to it, mention it no otherwiſe then as the *Eliſian fields*: their Poets call it the Metropolis of *Floras* Kingdom, and her Treaſury; in the way to it we paſſed the River *Tagus* by a wooden Bridge, which hath a Gate at one end of it, that is ſhut when the Court

is not there, then people Ferry over, paying ſome Duties, which are part of the Rents of *Aranjuez*. The firſt thing preſents it ſelf is a Park with Earthen walls, called *Tapia*, it is large, and beautified by divers Allies; in the Heath on each ſide the paſſage to it, are Cony-Warrens: by the Park ſide is a very large Walk, from which ſeveral others like it, extend to the right and left, it leads to a Gate at the end of a bridge over a Canal, drawn thither from the River; this forms an Iſland in which the Garden is, very fair and neatly kept, its entrance is from the Palace, and as ſoon as the Bridge is paſſed, two Statues of Braſs appear, from the cut off Arms of one of which, water diſtils; hard by theſe is the Ciſtern of the Fountain of *Diana*, which ſtands in the middle of a Mount raiſed of Stone, Wood, Moſs and Earth; many Figures of ſeveral Creatures are joyned to it, who pleaſantly ſpout out water as they receive it by Pipes from the River; in all this Garden I ſaw not any Fountain that derives its ſtream from a Spring; round about the Ciſtern ſtand Eight Ships (if I miſtake not) of Mirtle, whoſe Branches are ſo accommodated, that the poops, prows, and all the reſt of the hulks are well ſhaped; on each of theſe is a little Statue that ſpouts water againſt the Beaſts that are on the top of the Mount. We came next to the Fountain of *Ganimed*, who is mounted on an Eagle at the top of a Pillar; at the Ciſtern ſide ſtand *Mars* and *Hercules*; a little from it is the Fountain of the *Geloſia*, or

ſmall

ſmall Lattice, ſo called, becauſe at the top of it, the water repreſents the form of one of thoſe Lattices or Geloſias that are uſually ſet before windows: neer it is another, called the Golden Rowel; and at the entrance of the middle Ally, that of the Harpies, the faireſt of all; its Ciſtern is ſquare, and at the four corners on four Pillars, ſtand thoſe monſtrous Creatures, vomiting water againſt the ſtatue of a man, that ſitting on one of the middle Columns, ſeeks a thorn in the ſole of his foot: in the ſame Ally not far from the end of the Garden is the Fountain of Don *John of Auſtria*, whoſe Statue is placed on the top of it, water diſtilling from his hair; it is made of a ſtone that was found in a Turkiſh ſhip after the battle of *Lepanto*, it hath two Ciſterns, and below four *Cupids* with ſeveral Emblems: this Garden is very pleaſant, as well in it ſelf, as by reaſon of its particular ornaments which are not yet equally taking; the Walks are almoſt all too narrow, and one would think they had been niggards of ground for the parterres; the Arbors are low, and upheld only with Laths inſtead of Deal ſpars, which would not have been ſpared by a rich private perſon; round about the Iſle by the River and Canals ſide is a large Walk, well kept and ſwept, ſhaded by tall Elms; this is the faireſt, and in which their Majeſties moſt delight, in it is one Arbor, looking into the highway of *Madrid*, in which the Queen was the day the Bulls were fought, to ſee them paſs by, after the King and his Court had brought

brought them from the Heard from which they had ſeparated them: the day of this ſport is made a great ſecret, the King never declaring it till the night before he ſends away the *Herradores*, or markers of the Bulls, then alſo giving notice to the countrey people to bring them in: we had the firſt news of it in the great walk, of which I will ſpeak anon, where we met the Queen going to take the Air; as ſoon as her Coach and that of her Maids of Honour were paſſed by, a man on horſeback, ſaid to be the Guardian or overſeer of that Sex, taking us for Dutchmen, calling to us told us, that one of thoſe Ladys or Maids of Honour had a Couſen married in the *Low-Countreys*, and would be glad to enquire of him, we turned back and after ſome ſhort diſcourſe, ſhe acquainted us, that poſſibly the ſight of Bulls might be the next day, not daring poſitively to declare it: this caution is to prevent too great a concourſe: immediately the Ladies Guardian interrupted our ſmall entertainment, bidding us go off from the Coach, having talked long enough with the Ladies. we returned, admiring no leſs his incivility, then the impertinence of the Queens Buffoon, preſenting one of us a pipe of Tinn to ſpeak to him with, becauſe deaf as he feigned; this great Walk is beyond the Village of *Aranjuez*, ſo wretched, it ſcarcely affords any lodging, ſo that at our arrival there we were fain to go farther, and though the Moon ſhone, and we had guides, loſt our way; in the place where we ſtayed we had much ado to get Stable-room for our Horſes

Horſes, and ſhelter for our ſelves, and were very well contented to ſleep on Chairs and Benches. This is not occaſion'd by reaſon of a great Court, for almoſt all the Officers are lodged in the Kings houſe, though very ſmall; but the Village affords but one Inn, which was taken up by the Emperours Ambaſſadors, ſo that we could have no place there till next morning. That day we reſolved to make an end of ſeeing *Aranjuez*, and when we had been where the Camels are kept, where there was only one Female, and a young one, the reſt being abroad to carry wood, as we returned by ſeveral fair Allies, our guide told us, that after a birth the Females are two years before they again bring forth: He ſaid alſo, that they ſometimes bait them with Dogs, and that it is very pleaſant to ſee how dexterouſly thoſe ill ſhaped creatures defend themſelves againſt Maſtiffs; and that their fury ſometimes break through the Rails and diſcharges it ſelf on the Spectatators: coming near our lodging, he mentioned a rare Waterwork with ſo many circumſtances, that he incited our curioſity to go and ſee it, by we diſcovered his ſimplicity, it being nothing but a Mill to ſaw boards. This confirmed our opinion that what is very common in other places, paſſes often here for miraculous: in the afternoon we went to ſee the great and magnificent Walk at the end of the Village, neer the way to *Alcalá de Henares*: on each ſide it is a double row of fair young Elms, towards whoſe better growth, they can

at pleaſure let in water between the ranks: it is very long and large, and in two or three places are wide circles where Coaches may wheel about as at our Tour in *Hidepark*: at the end of it is a bridge over *Tagus* with a door, in ſuch manner, that the King when at *Aranjuez*, either without Guards, or only with 10 or 12 Halberdiers, is as within an entrenchment, not to be paſſed but by theſe bridges; on the right hand is another Walk leading to a Grange where three Aſſes are kept to cover Mares for production of good Mules: in my life I never ſaw any ſo big, the youngeſt being as high as any Mule, the two other not much lower; the Firſt coſt Two and twenty thouſand Reals, which amounts to 600 *l. ſterling*; they are exempted from Duty but two days in the year, that is, on *Corpus Chriſti*, and the *Feaſt of the Aſcenſion*; at other times, as we were told, the Male Careſſes the Female twice a day, by this appears that moſt of the Mares being made uſe of to bear Mules, the breed of Horſes will by degrees be loſt here, and they would have much ado to raiſe Cavalry, were there occaſion for it. Rumours have been ſpred that Mules ſhould be prohibited, but this was found difficult; I know not whether by means of the Clergy, if ſo, it had been eaſie to have applied the remedy made uſe of by the King of *Portugal*; Though above the folly of thoſe Travailers, that mind no more of the Courts of the Countreys they paſs thorow, then to ſee the Princes Dine or Ride. Our little ſtay in

Spain,

Spain, and difficult acceſs to the Court, by reaſon of its great privacy, obliged us to amuſe our ſelves with what takes the eyes, but little ſatisfies the intellect. On *Aſcention day* by means of Sir *Benjamin Wright*, we were permitted to ſtand in a corner of the chamber where the Queen dined; ſhe is of a middle ſtature, rather inclining to be low; over againſt her ſtands a Lady that preſents the diſhes, and doth the Office of Carver; on each ſide of her ſtands another; ſhe on the right, preſents the Glaſs, ſhe on the left, the Napkin; ſhe drinks very little, but eats well; ſhe was ſerved with many diſhes, but as we thought, few good ones; ſhe hath a Buffoon that talks continually to endeavour to divert her; four or five youths of the beſt families in *Spain* bring in the meat out of the next chamber, theſe are called *Meninos*, all habited in Gray, yet with difference in the Colour: we wondred to ſee the Spaniſh gravity ſuffer ſuch neglect of Majeſty; theſe *Meninos* uſing very little reſpect in the Queens preſence, they often prated and ſhared a diſh of Apples with the Buffoon, and ſome of them at the door puſhing one another, made a great noiſe, without any reprehending them; none are admitted to ſee the Infanta dine, and upon our expreſſing a curioſity for it, it was rumoured that the Duke of *Savoy* was *incognito* at *Aranjuez*: an honeſt Spaniard after the fight of Bulls, brought me into a Garden where I ſaw her take Coach: ſhe is low, of a ſprightly meen and quick eye, her face rather long

then round. It is pity the cuſtom of the Countrey obliges her to paint, for with leſs red ſhe would certainly appear more lovely, though the Queen and ſhe ſeem leſs inflamed then the reſt of the Court, whoſe cheeks are Scarlet, and that ſo groſſly laid on, it ſeems rather to aim at diſguiſe then beauty; and indeed the moſt of them are ſo ill favoured, that all the paint in the world made uſe of with the greateſt Art, cannot help them. The Maids of Honour take the firſt three or four Coaches: and the Duenas: (who are old Women clothed in white, and almoſt covered with Vails) the laſt; the Queen and Infanta follow in a Coach with ſix Horſes, an old Lady ſitting in the Boot; their wide Farthingales extreamly fill the Coach, and one would take their thick and knotty Elflocks for Hempen ſtuffing, broke out of an old pack-ſaddle.

Their Whisks or rather Cravats are made of great points, which doubtleſly coſt a great deal, though unhandſome: almoſt all of them have Looking-glaſſes, Watches or Pictures hanging at their Girdles; I ſaw none Court them but the Marquis of *Aytona*, who walked by a Coach ſide talking with one that ſate in the boot; but I was told this is done with freedom enough in the Queens withdrawing room; and whenſoever they appear at windows by ſigns agreed on between them and their ſervants in order to ſo gallant a converſation. When they marry, the Queen adds Fifty thouſand Crowns to their portions, which are very well paid

paid; beſides theſe Ladies and ſome Querries, the Queen hath no attendance at her going abroad but her Buffoon, with ſome mean Officers and Footmen: ſhe hath no Guards, and I admired her being publick with ſo little ſtate. The King hath about a dozen Firelocks that wait daily at his Stair-head; theſe are either *Flemings* or *Burgundians*, the Duke of *Arcos* is their Captain. On the Guard they wear the Kings Livery (which at other times they lay aſide) and an odd Kind of Sword or Hanger called *Cuchilla*: They are in all 150. There wait alſo daily ſixteen *Spaniſh*, and as many *High-Dutch* Halbardiers. This Guard was firſt introduced in *Spain* by the Houſe of *Auſtria:* and we were told there are beſides theſe two old Companies of *Spaniards* formerly the Guards of the Kings of *Caſtile*, which are but ill payed, and the reſt not much better. The morrow after Aſcention day *Don Lewis de Haro* arrived, the King having ſent for him to the Solemnity of the *Herradura* or marking of Bulls: a little after which his Majeſty took horſe at the point of the Iſland of the Garden, and having commanded the people to go without the rails, went with all his Court to the end of a great Alley, to drive the Bulls into that part of the field that is incloſed: Men on horſeback with great cudgels enrage them, whilſt others behind drive them forward with ſhouts and blows. Then comes the King with his Court, and the ſport is at an end.

Their Majeſties having heard Maſs, the Governor of *Aranjuez*, the beſt Torreador, that

is Champion againſt Bulls, of all *Spain*, begins the ſecond hunting of theſe beaſts, to drive them into the innermoſt partition, where they are to be marked with a hot iron: There they remain till 3. in the afternoon, at which time all Windows and Scaffolds abounding with Spectators, their Majeſties take their ſeat, and give order to begin: within the Barricadoes ſtand ſeveral young Country fellows (whom they call Herradors) expecting the Bulls to grapple with them, and two or three being let looſe, the braveſt run and ſeiſe their horns, or tails, and ſeconded by the reſt endeavour to caſt them on the ground, whilſt others with hot irons mark them on the thighs, ſome the mean while ſlitting their ears. Much agility is neceſſary in this action, as well in performing it as afterwards, the Bulls being very furious. To deceive them, the aſſailants preſent each a Cloak or Hat, and the Beaſt ſhutting his eyes when he gores, one of the boldeſt leaps upon his neck, and catches hold of his horns, the reſt doing the like to ſuch other parts as they can light on, but he overthrows and hurts many, and it is ſtrange that he kills not the moſt, for oftentimes running right upon them, he caſts them down and paſſes over them, but thoſe one would think dead (I know not how) ſodainly riſe again. They are indeed very nimble in avoiding their horns, and ready in falling to let them go by. This ſport may be very pleaſant, but not to the actors, and I admire ſo great a King vouchſafes to look on it, and conceive he does it rather

ther out of policy to comply with the cuſtom, then invited by any delight, he takes in it; but that ſomething extraordinary might be done for his diverſion; *Don Lewis de Haro* cauſed his Fool or Buffoon to enter the Liſts, who clad in all manner of colours, and mounted on a white Steed, was with it toſſed into the Air, and afterwards trampled on the ground: Twenty two or twenty three of the Bulls were marked, which will be made uſe of at the Feſtivals of *Madrid*, amongſt which we hope to ſee that of *St Iſadore*, the Patron of the Town.

A while after we went to the Eſcurial, which to give it no leſs then its due, may in *Spain* paſs for an admirable Structure, but where building is underſtood, would not be looked on as very extraordinary. In a general conſideration, it ſeems a maſs of ſtone of great perfection, but going to particulars, ſcarce any of them but falls very ſhort of the Magnificence imagined, and that ſo much, that if *Philip* the Second who built it, and was called the *Solomon* of his age, did no more reſemble that wiſe King then this edifice does his Temple, to which it is often compared; the copy comes very ſhort of the Original: in the mean time to ſtretch the compariſon, they pleaſe themſelves in ſaying, that *Charles* the Fifth like another *David* only deſigned this Holy work, which (being a man of war and blood) God reſerved for his Son. Ignorant ſtrangers are entertained with this tale, but ſuch as are verſed in Hiſtory tell us, that after the battle of *St Quentin*, *Philip*

the Second made two vows, one never to go in perſon to the wars, the other to build this Cloyſter for the Order of *St Hierom* inſtead of that which had been burnt, it coſt him neer ſix Millions of Gold, though out of conſideration of parſimony and convenience of bringing ſtone, he made choice of the worſt ſcituation in nature, for it is at the foot of a barren Mountain, and hard by a wretched Village called *Eſcurial*, that can hardly lodge a man of any faſhion; this may ſeem very ſtrange to thoſe that know the Court is there twice in a year: the place it ſtands on, is by tranſcendence called the Seat, becauſe it was levelled in order to build on.

The Fabrick is very fair, with four Towers at the four corners, but coming to it, one knows not which way to enter, for as ſoon as out of the great Walk, in a kind of Piazza, you ſee only little doo s, which when you are over it, lead into two Pavilions that contain Offices and Lodgings for ſome of the Court; when you have well viewed this ſide of the ſquare, you come to that which is towards the Mountain, where is a very large Magnificent Portal, on each ſide beautify'd with Pillars; by this ſtately Gate you enter a Quadrangle, where right over againſt it ſtands the Church, aſcended to it by a Stair of five or ſix ſteps, as long as the Court is large, extending from one ſide of it to the other: very fair Columnes ſupport the Porch, and on the top of the wall ſtand ſix Statues, the middlemoſt of which are *David*

and

and *Solomon*, by whom they would repreſent *Charles* the Fifth, and *Philip* the Second. About the Church are many Pavilions, all comprehended in the exact ſquare which environs that building. Report mentions many Baſcourts, but we could not reckon above 7 or 8. That this is a very fair Cloyſter for Friers cannot be denied, neither can it be allowed to be a Pallace Magnificent enough for ſuch a Monarch as *Philip* the Second, who having built it in One and twenty years, and enjoyed it Twelve or Thirteen, boaſted, that from the foot of a Mountain and his Cloſet, with two inches of Paper, he made himſelf obeyd in the old and new world.

The King and Queens apartment have nothing in them that appears Roial, they are altogether unfurniſhed, and they ſay, when the King goes to any of his houſes of pleaſure, they remove all to the very Bedſteds: the rooms are little and low; the Roofs not beautiful enough to invite the eyes to look up to them: its many pictures of excellent Maſters, and eſpecially of *Titian*, that wrought a great while there, are very much vanted, yet there are not ſo many as report gives out. The Spaniards have ſo little underſtanding of pictures, they are alike taken with all, and the Marquis *Serra* a Genoueſe that accompanied us ſufficiently, laughed at the fooliſhneſs of a *Caſtillian*, who willing to have us admire the ſlighteſt and wretcheſt Landskips of a Gallery where we were, told us nothing could equalize them, becauſe

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in a place where their King ſometimes walked. There are yet in the veſtry ſome good pieces, eſpecially a *Chriſt*, and *Mary Magdalen*; and in the Church, others very eſtimable. For paintings in *Freſco*, the Quire done by *Titian* is doubtleſſy an excellent work, and ſo is the Library, I think by the ſame hand, where amongſt the reſt is repreſented the antient Roman manner of defending Criminals, who ſtand by bound hand and foot; *Cicero* is alſo there pleading for *Milo*, or ſome other, I not being ſufficiently acquainted with his meen, to be poſitive and without apprehenſion of miſtaking: this Library is truly very conſiderable, as well for its length, breadth, height and light; the Pictures and Marble Tables that ſtand in the midſt of it; as for its quantity of choice and rare Books, if we may beleeve the Monks; they are certainly very well bound and guilded, and if I miſtake not, but ſeldom read. In the Veſtry they ſhew Prieſts Copes, where embroidery and Pearl with emulation contend, whither Art or Matter renders them more rich and ſumptuous; they ſhewed us a Croſs of very fair Pearl, Diamonds, and Emeralds; it is a very pretty knack, and would not become leſs ſuch if it changed Countreys; I would willingly have undertaken for it if they would have ſuffered it to paſs the *Pyreneans*, had it been only to ſhew my friends a hundred thouſand Crowns in a Nutſhel. The Library I have ſpoken of; the high Altar and Monument of their Kings, which they call *Pantheon* (though I know not why, unleſs becauſe

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a ſingle round Arch like the Pantheon at *Rome*) are certainly the beſt pieces of this Magnificent Fabrick. The high Altar is approached by ſteps of Red Marble, and invironed by Sixteen pillars of Jaſper, which reach the top of the Quire, and coſt only a matter of 50 or 60 thouſand Crowns cutting, between theſe are Niches with Statues of guilded Braſs, and ſo there are on the ſide of the Tables, and Praying places. the Pantheon is under the Altar, and deſcended by ſtairs, though narrow, very light; at the entrance of this rich Chappel, a Marble ſhines, whoſe luſter is heightned by reflexion of the Gold, with which, all the iron work and part of that fair ſtone are overlaid: In the middle of it, and right againſt the Altar is a fair Candleſtick of Braſs, guilded, and in ſix ſeveral niches, 24 Sepulchres of black Marble to receive as many bodies: above the Gate are two more. This ſtately monument is ſmall, but ſumptuous, it was finiſhed by the preſent King, who about ſix months ſince placed there the bodies of *Charles* the V, *Philip* the I I, and *Philip* the I I I. The firſt was moſt intire; in the niches on the left, lie the Queens, and the laſt of them Queen *Elizabeth* of *Burbon*. He that preached the day that theſe ſeven Tombs or Sepulchres had bodies laid in them, began by his apprehenſion to ſpeak in preſence of ſo many Kings who had conquered the world, and expreſſed himſelf ſo well, and ſo highly pleaſed the King that he got a yearly penſion of a thouſand Crowns. Nothing attaining ſuch perfection as

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to ſecure it from the Teeth of Criticks, the three pieces I have now mentioned, have been attacqued by them. It is objected againſt the Library, that its entrance ſuits not with its Magnificence and Grandeur, and that it ſtands as if ſtoln in, and not of the ſame piece with the reſt.

Over againſt the great Altar, where all is ſo well proportioned, they wiſh away a ſilver Lamp, whoſe ſize correſponds not with that of the place it burns in, which is vaſt and large. In the Pantheon they find great fault, that all the ſteps by which it is deſcended are not Marble, and that the ſides of the walls are not incruſted with it, the Chappel being all ſo, and a like Magnificence requiſite every where: In the brazen Candleſtick, the inner part which is not guilded is diſcerned amongſt the black and foul branches that extend from it. It coſt 10 thouſand Crowns, which is ten times more then it is worth; but it is common in this Countrey to boaſt things of exceſſive price, which they would have admired on that account, as if becauſe they are fooliſh Merchants, the ware they buy too dear, were therefore the more valuable. Theſe are my obſervations of the ſo famous Eſcurial, adorned only by ſome ſmal Parterras and Fountains; one ſide of it affords a handſome proſpect, but the ground near it is the greateſt part Rock or Heath; ſome Walks and Groves are planted about it, but being cold and windy, trees thrive not. There are ſome Deer in a kind of Park, ill deſigned, and with very

very low walls; the way to it is nothing pleasant, and the King who goes thither thrice every year, one of which times is in the Winter, cannot certainly find any great diversion in those journeys, for during three months, all is covered with snow. I have no more to say of these two wonders of the world, *The Escurial for Art, and* Aranjuez *for Nature, The paralels of the Son of* Austria, (as is here said,) *according to times and fancies.*

The Twentieth of this month, all *Madrid* assembled in the great Piazza to see the Bulls fought; they mention this solemnity so advantagiously, as if it were to be compared to the Noblest Spectacles of the antients: every Town of *Spain* hath several days set apart for it, and not any one of them but enjoys this pleasure about Midsummer. The people have so great an esteem for it, that they think you extreamly injure them if you prefer it not to all others, and if you seem not to admire all its circumstances, you may as safely deny their King to be the greatest in the world.

The prospect of the Piazza this day must needs be very agreeable: People of the best quality adorn all the Windows and Balconies, hung with Silks and Tapestrys of divers colours, with the greatest ostentation possible: Each Council hath its Balcony hung with Velvet or Damask, with a Scutcheon of the Arms belonging to it. The Kings is guilded, and under a State; the Queen and Infanta sit by him, and the Favorite or chief Minister in a corner of it; on his right hand

hand is another great Balcony for the Ladies of the Court, the reſt are promiſcuouſly taken up by others. Both men and women ſet out themſelves to all advantage poſſible, paying very dear for the Balconies; thoſe on the firſt and ſecond ſtories coſt Twenty or five and Twenty Crowns, though the firſt rank cannot contain above five or ſix perſons: the King pays for thoſe of ſuch as are conſiderable to him, as Ambaſſadors and Envoies of forreign Princes. Before the Balconies are Scaffolds that extend ſome feet into the Piazza; they are extreamly crouded, all the people taking places dearer or cheaper according to the poſts they make choice of.

Though theſe ſolemnities are very frequent, three or four being yearly celebrated in *Madrid*, the meaneſt Citizen will not once neglect to ſee them, and rather pawn his Goods then fail for want of Money. This takes its name of diſtinction from *St Iſidore*, protector of the Town, which therefore bears the charge; the reaſon it paſſes not for a Royal Spectacle; it coſts the King nevertheleſs ſomething, and I was told, he gives every Council that day Three thouſand Crowns: thoſe at *Midſummer* and *September* are moſt eſteemed, when ſeveral enter the Liſts a horſeback, whereas at this of *St Iſidore* all do it afoot. There are four paſſages to the Piazza, which is ſtrewed with Sand, and freed from thoſe moving Shops or Booths that at other times peſter it; ſome ride, others walk about it till the King appears, then his Guards break

break through the croud, and place themſelves on each ſide to attend him: as ſoon as their Majeſties are ſeated in their Balconies, all go out of the Piazza, which being cleared, fully diſcovers its beauty. At the ſame time four or five *Alguazils* well mounted, and better then becomes ordinary catchpoles, attend bare-headed, and as ſoon as the King gives the word, he of them that hath authority over the Waggons, cauſes them to move from the place they ſtand ranged in, and the barrels and ſheep-skins that are in them, diſtil water ſo artificially, that the whole Piazza is equally bedewed: after which, they immediately depart by the four Gates, which are ſhut as ſoon as they which are to fight the Bulls are entered; amongſt theſe gallant champions was a fellow of *Valladolid*, mounted on a Bull, he had mannaged and accuſtomed to bridle and ſaddle; one a foot carrying his Lance by him: he rid ſtreight up to the King, and after a profound obeiſance, endeavoured to ſhew his own and his Bulls addreſs; he cauſed him to trot, gallop, and turn every way, but that undiſciplinable creature, weary at laſt of the tediouſneſs of the mannage, fell a kicking and bounding ſo fiercely, he threw the poor Peaſant, who not at all daunted at his misfortune, ran after his Bull that made away, attended by the hooting of all the aſſiſtance till he had retaken him; but theſe quickly began again, for as ſoon as an *Alguazil* had received the keys of the place where the Bulls were incloſed, which *Don Lewis de Haro* threw to

him

him in obſervence of the cuſtom, which requires the Kings giving them to his favorite, and his caſting them from the B lcony to the *Alguazils*; and that thoſe wild beaſts were let looſe, and furiouſly attacqued one another; his, though ſo well mannaged and harneſſed, ſet on a running without reg rd either to ſpur or bridle, making it impoſſible for his Maſter to engage, who ſtood prepared to that purpoſe with his Lance in Reſt; ſo without any other effect then the laughter of the aſſiſtants, after ſeveral attempts, he retreated without ſtriking ſtroke, though his Bull and he had received many from thoſe that avoided not the ſhock, but ran to it. At the beginning of this ſport they uſually let one Bull looſe after another, who according to his greater or leſſer fury with precipitation attaques ſuch as are within the Liſts, whom he ſoon drives away; but ſuch as are ſlower then the reſt, when they can no longer avoid him, fall flat at their lengths, or preſent him their Hats or Cloaks; he paſſes by thoſe that lie on the ground without hurting them, becauſe when he gores he ſhuts his eyes, and commonly ſtrikes nothing but the Air; they which preſent their Cloaks or Hats, by them, put a ſtop to his rage, which lighting on any thing, is ſatisfied. What I have hitherto mentioned, is but the farce; the ſerious part, and that in which the activity conſiſts, is the darting certain Arrows or little Javelins, which the skilful fix between the Bulls horns, with admirable dexterity, without which they would be torn in

pieces.

pieces. A Barber ſignalized himſelf, the Bull feeling the ſmart of theſe little Javelins, (which for their better ſupport through the Air are winged with red Paper) grows to a higher rage, whilſt by his ſtrugl ng and tormenting himſelf, the iron heads piercei farther. It is ſaid, that between the horns of theſe creatures is a little place, ſo very tender and delicate that the ſmalleſt wound there is mortal; at which ſome of the Champions can aim ſo well, that they kill a Bull at the firſt ſtroke; when he ſeems almoſt tired and ſpent, the Trumpets ſound, the ſignal to hamſtring him: then with Swords and Hangers they endeavor to cut the ſinews of his hinder legs, after which, thruſts and ſlaſhes which they call Cuchilladas ſhowre on the poor beaſt. In this the common people make their bloody inclination apparent, for ſuch as can come at him, would ſcarcely think themſelves ſons of honeſt Mothers, did they not plunge their Daggers in his body, after which, *quaſi re bene geſta*, they march off triumphantly: When he moves no more, Mules come a gallop to draw him out of the Liſts, and another is let looſe. About a ſcore were killed that day, the skins ſo pinked, they could be of no uſe but to make Sives; Dogs are ſometimes ſet againſt them when it is too troubleſome and dangerous for men to joyn them, and the pleaſure would ſure be greater, if when the dogs have faſtened on them, they forbore wounding them on all ſides: the only horſeman that appeared this day, was the Buffoon of Don *Lewis de Haro*, the ſame that

ſhewed himſelf at *Aranjuez*; he made one carrier with his Lance handſome enough, but the King unwilling he ſhould get miſchief, cauſed him to retire. This manner of fight is to be performed with ſhort ſtirrups, otherwiſe a leg may be eaſily ſpoiled; not with mannaged horſes, but ſuch only as are fleet, and have tender mouths: when the Bulls are to be attacqued on horſeback, ſuch as have horſes proper for it, cannot handſomly refuſe to lend them, nor with honour pretend to any ſatisfaction, if (as it often happens) they be ſpoiled in the ſervice.

This days ſport properly belonging to Peaſants, one ſuch, in affront to Cavaliers, came in mounted on an Aſs, which the Bull at firſt overthrew, but the fellow having recovered his courage, and ſilly animal, attacqued the Bull with ſo good ſucceſs, that he gave him a great wound between the horns, which bled extremely: after ſo gallant an exploit, he begged the Bull of the King, which being given him he went away with his famous prize, better ſatisfied then if crowned with Laurel. The Bull oftentimes falls upon the Guards, who ſtand ranked on one ſide of the Piazza with Darts and Halbards; if they kill him he is theirs; he twice charged them through, and overthrew ſome of them, nothing of gallantry appearing on their ſide, who ſuffered the Bull to trample on their bellies, inſtead of killing him at their feet. The Alguazils or Serjeants are very conſpicuous, with fair embroidered Saddles, and their horſes adorned with Ribands, and taſſels; they were very nim-

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ble in quitting all places the Bulls approached, and it had been the beſt of the ſport to have ſeen them charged home, at leaſt this was moſt wiſhed, but by the readineſs of their flight, they eſcaped theſe horns, though probably not thoſe which are ſo common in *Madrid.*

The grand ſolemnity begins not till the afternoon, but five or ſix Bulls are attacqued in the morning, for the ſakes of ſuch as cannot be preſent afterwards: at this, order is not ſo well obſerved, which ſometimes occaſions miſchief. I was told that this day in the morning ſeveral were hurt, and one kill'd by a horn that entred by his eye. They end not but with daylight, and every Gallant gives his Miſtriſs a Balcone and Collation. In all the circumſtances of this diverſion, a certain inveterate cruelty derived from *Africk*, and har forſook not this Countrey with the Moors is very remarkable: for the pleaſure of ordinary Spaniards is not fighting the Bulls, the rabble delighting in nothing ſo much as ſhedding his blood. At *Tunis* and *Algier* are the like ſolemnities, but (as they ſay) with greater ſplendor.

As the publick ſports, the Moors introduced in *Spain*, whilſt they poſſeſſed it, continue after their exile; the Church alſo retains ſomething of their ſuperſtition, eſpecially on *Corpus Chriſti* day. The Twenty ſeventhof *May* we ſaw all its Ceremonies, which are many, and laſt long; they begin by a proceſſion, whoſe firſt ranks are intermixed with ſeveral Hoboies, Tabors, and Caſtanettas; a great many habited in par-

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ty coſoured clothes, skip and dance as extravalantly as at a Morrice. The King goes to *St Maries* Church not far from his Palace, and after Maſs, returns with a Torch in his hand, following a ſilver Tabernacle, in which is the Holy Wafer, attended by the Grandes of *Spain*, and his ſeveral Councils. This day to avoid diſpute, they obſerve not order, ſo that the Counſellors *de la Hazienda*, joyn with thoſe of the *Indies*; before theſe Counſellors and certain other perſons, move Machines, repreſenting Giants; theſe are Statues of Pasbord carried by men concealed under them: they are of ſeveral ſhapes, ſome very hideous; all of them repreſent Femals, except the firſt, which is only the Figure of a great head painted, within which is concealed a little man that gives it meen and motion: it being a *Coloſſus* over the body of a Pigmie. Amongſt theſe chimerical Monſters, there is one which repreſents two Gianteſſes, Moors, or Æthiopians, ſuch having really been if we may beleeve the vulgar, who call them *Hios de Vicinos*, that is, neighbors children. The people are ſo taken with theſe Gothick figures, that there is ſcarce any Village without them. They report the Gianteſſes to have lived in the time of King *Mammelin*, and on that account ſometimes call them *Mammelins*, after the name of that Gothick or Mooriſh King, who once Reigned in *Spain*. I was told of another terrible Pageant which they call *Taraſca*, from a wood that was formerly in *Province*, where at preſent ſtands the City

City of *Taraſcon* on the banks of *Roſne*, over againſt *Beaucaire*. They fancy that in this place was once a Serpent (no leſs enemy of Mankind, then that which ſeduced our firſt Anceſtors in Paradice) called *Behemoth*, and report that *St Martha* by oraiſons triumphed over it, leading it priſoner in her apron ſtrings. Be this Hiſtory or Fable, the *Taraſca* is a Serpent of enormous greatneſs, in form of a Woman, moving on wheels, the body covered with ſcales, a vaſt belly, long tail, ſhort feet, ſharp talons, fiery eyes, gaping mouth, out of which extend three tongues, and long tusks. This Bulbegger ſtalks up and down and they which are under the paſtboard and paper, of which it is compoſed, by certain Springs, cauſe it to move ſo dexterouſly, that it puts off the Hat to the Sots that ſtare at it, and ſometimes lays hold on Countrey fellows, whoſe fright moves laughter amongſt the people. Such as pleaſe themſelves in telling wonders of this foppery, relate that a certain Town having ſent to ſome of its neighbors ſix of theſe paper Giants, two Pigmies, and the Taraſca to be made uſe of on *Corpus Chriſti* day, they which give them their motion being entred, to divert themſelves in the paſſage, cauſed them to dance as at proceſſions by couples: they were met by certain Muliters or Carriers, who (Moonſhine diſcovering at a diſtance, theſe imaginary Monſters,) marching with a great deal of prattle and loud laughter, for their merrier paſſing two

or

or three Leagues) not recollecting what was to be done the day after, were so affrighted that the terror still augmenting, by their contemplating those fantasmes, they at last run away with all their might. The conducters of the Monsters perceiving this, casting off their Vizards, went out of the Machines to disabuse them, running after them to cause them to come back to their Mules and charges; this increased their astonishment, and hastened their pace, which aided by the wings of fear, soon transported them cross the fields to a village, which they allarmed to free the Countrey of highway men, so hideous, they could be little less then Devils: the other in the mean time slipping their cases, and perceiving themselves masters of the the spoils, the muletiers had abandoned, began to visit the baggage, and finding Wine, drank so much they fell fast asleep till morning. The Muletiers after their raising the Village, and bringing the Justice to the place, perceived their mistake, and the Countrey fellows laughing heartily at them, drank the remainder of the Wine in recompence of their trouble. The Village of the solemnity, a great while waited for those grim Puppets, which came too late, and by their excuse and relation of what had happened, disordered the whole procession, changing it into a Ring of such as abandoned the Cross and Banner, to hearken to their story. The pleasantest posture of these Mammelinas that I saw was, when they made their salutes before the Queens Balcony, be-

sides

ſides ſome feats of activity by addreſs of thoſe that dance them. The King paſſing by it, ſalutes the Queen with a ſmile, and the Queen and Infanta riſe a little before he comes at them, to return his compliment; The Proceſſion having filed to the Piazza, returns by the High ſtreet or Calle Major, adorned by many Tapeſtries waving on the Balconies, filled with men and women of all conditions: the croud is ſo great, one cannot paſs without difficulty, and we had much ado to return to *St Maries* Church where the proceſſion ended. As ſoon as free from it we went to the Palace, and there ſaw the King, Queen, and Infanta, return with all the Court Ladies: I think I have mentioned all that is worth notice, unleſs it be that as on this day all the men put on Summer cloaths, ſo do all the Ladies, and thoſe new and very rich, of ſeveral faſhions and colours. In the afternoon about five a clock, *Autos* are repreſented: theſe are ghoſtly Comedies, with interludes, very ridiculous to give reliſh to what is ſerious and tedious in the pieces themſelves.

The two companies of Players that belong to *Madrid* at this time, ſhut their Theaters, and for a month repreſent theſe Holy Poems: this they do every evening in publick on Scaffolds erected to that purpoſe in the ſtreets before the houſes of the Preſidents of ſeveral Councils. They begin at Court the day of the Solemnity, where a ſeat under a State is provided for their Majeſties: the Stage is at the foot of theſe Scaffolds, and little painted Booths

rowled to it, environ it, and ſerve as tiring houſes. This is continued certain days, every Preſident having one, and a Stage and Scaffold erected before his houſe: before theſe *Autos* begin, all the foppery of the Proceſſion dances, and the Gigantine Machines make the people ſport; but what I moſt admired in that which I ſaw at a diſtance in the old *Prado*, is, that in the ſtreets and open air they uſe Torches to thoſe pieces, which in the daily Theaters, and within doors, they repreſent without other light then that of the Sun: all theſe antick ceremonies appeared much more ridiculous to thoſe that beheld them, then they can poſſibly do in my deſcribing them, and confirm me in what I often obſerved, that the Spaniards, and other wiſe and grave nations ſeem fondeſt in their diverſions, as Miſers at their Feaſts ſometimes become moſt prodigal.

The next day the Alguazils came to the houſe where we lodged to demand account of our hoſte of his proviſion of victuals and what Poultry he fatted. They were very inquiſitive, what he did with ſuch abundance, and where and why he had bought it; he told them we gave him Money to be our Caterer, but this would not ſerve his turn, becauſe ſo great ſtore is forbidden by Law, and gives a jealouſie that the Maſter of the houſe keeps an Ordinary or Penſion, which is not allowed: beſides all which certain witneſſes depoſed that he ſent victuals abroad to ſome of the company that lay ſick, and that he bought ſome at the private Kitchins

chins of Don *Lewis* de *Haro* and others, all very ſtreightly prohibited. The reaſon why neither Ordinaries nor Penſions are allowed in *Madrid*, nor any part of *Spain*, ſeems very ſtrange, when they tell you that conſideration of the ſterility of the Countrey, gives apprehenſion of Famine, and an entire diſfurniſhing the Markets by thoſe that keep ſuch houſes; for it appears to me, that liberty being left to every one to buy what he pleaſes, and as much as he pleaſes, provided it be by his Domeſtick, the ſame inconvenience will no leſs follow.

However, it is good to keep out of the Laws clutches in *Spain*; eſpecially, in occaſions where the Catchpoles interpoſe; for, for a matter of nothing, they ſeize and carry away all, and the Maſter to priſon, from whence he eſcapes not without the aid of Money, be his cauſe right or wrong; eſpecially, if he be thought rich: falſe witneſſes are never wanting, and here the neighbors had depoſed againſt our hoſte out of envy; but his good luck was to be Tenant to an Alguazil; this Serjeant mediating with his Comrades, aſſiſted by four piſtols, the Information was cancelled, and our Hoſt not carried to priſon as they had intended: by this, all here appears vendible, though had this cheat of the Alguazils been complained of, they had run hazard of being ſent to the Gallies. This was almoſt the only puniſhment inflicted in thoſe times by reaſon of want of men to be employed at the Oar.

An Assentista, that is a Patentee or Farmer of Levies of soldiers, or of the Kings Revenue, was a little before assaulted in his chamber by Theeves, one of which being taken, discovered his confederates; amongst whom, (though they set daggers at his throat, and wounded him in the head) was a Frier; the first with his Comrade was whipped and sent to the Gallies, and the Frier condemned to pass the remainder of his days between four walls with bread and water. This man being a stranger, little befriended, and ignorant of the customes of the Country, had much ado to obtain this Justice. He was born at St. *Omer*, but resides ordinarily at *London*, from whence he sends Irishmen to serve in *Catalonia*. Such French as they take at Sea are in like manner sent to the Gallies, from which none can be freed, without putting one in his place, which costs dear, there being no other way but to find out some *Negro* Slave.

The Commerce of the Indies hath restored rights of servitude in these Countries, and in *Andalusia* there are few other Servants. The greatest part of these are either Moors or perfect Blacks, which gives occasion to the Proverb, *No assi tratan los hombres Blancos:* White Men are not be so used. Christianity requires, that such as embrace it be enfranchised, but this is not observed in *Spain*, and those wretches are not made freemen by becomming Christians. They are much more cruelly used in the *Indies*, where inhumanity hath so long prevailed, that all imaginable rigor is exercised on those unhappy creatures,

tures, who are only ſuch by occaſion of their Mines of Gold and Silver, to which their Maſters owe all their fortune and greatneſs. An incredible number of them found their graves, whileſt they digged for thoſe Metals, ſo that ſcarce any remain to purſue that fatal imployment. Beſides this deſtruction made by the Mines, it is ſaid the Wine ſent thither, occaſions ſo many diſeaſes, that the greateſt part of the Indians die. They are paſſionate Lovers of this liquor, and ſpare nothing that may obtain it; and the Spaniards to diſcover the Treaſures they may have concealed, ſell it them, to the ruin of their goods, health, and ſtrength for labour; and I remember to have read a Book intituled *Las Excellentias del Eſpannol*, in four or five Chapters where the Author makes appear the prejudice the King and Traffick of the *Indies*, receive by the Vines planted in *Peru*; and often repeats, that the vice of the Weſt-Indians being Drunkenneſs, many of them periſh by Wine, not like their *Chica*, made of Maiz and more agreeable to their Conſtitutions; beſides that, the Spaniards to get more, and by ſelling it cheap, to make quicker returns, falſifie it, in ſuch a manner, it is little better than poiſon. On theſe occaſions the Indians are ſo much waſted, that for ſome years there have not been enough to work in the Vine-yards nor Mines of *Peru*. Negro's are therefore made uſe of, bought in *Guine*, or the Kingdom of *Angola*; by which means the profit is much leſſened, a Negro coſting 50 or 60 Crowns, and ſince *Portugal* hath re-

re-eſtabliſhed their true King, and that all thoſe Countries of the *Indies* that are ſtrongeſt in Colonies, have acknowledged him, Negro's are not had ſo cheap; for beſides the 60 Pieces of Eight they coſt, the King of *Portugal* hath laid an Impoſt equal to the Price, ſo that a Negro comes not to *Carthagena*, where they land, till he ſtands the Spaniards in above 200 Crowns. The profit the King of *Portugal* makes by this, is incredible, thoſe that underſtand Trade, aſſuring it amounts yearly to ſome Millions of Gold. The conſideration of this and ſome other things before mentioned, make evident to me what I was often told at *Madrid*, that the great wealth of the *Indies* belongs more to particular perſons and ſtrangers, than to the King of *Spain*, and that at this time when the Gallions are expected richer than in many late years, becauſe of the return of the Viceroy, it is thought 3 quarters of what it brings is on account of Merchant Strangers, and that there will not come to the King and natural Spaniards above Three Millions of Gold.

They which manage the Affairs of that Countrey, very proſperouſly advance their own, and the Earl of *Pigneranda* Preſident of its Council, draws vaſt ſums for Licences to French Merchants; One I knew, that for leave to bring a hundred Hides from St. *Domingo* by the Gallions, gave Ten Piſtols. Notwithſtanding all which, much deceit is uſed in that particular, and the greateſt part of the French that trade into *Spain*, import and export at their pleaſure all manner of Com-

Commodities, by pretending to be Walloons, Burgundians, Lorrainers, or Flemings. For this reaſon the King was counſelled to give freedom to trade, and to aboliſh the Fees of Licences, and Impoſt of the Tenth Peny on all French Merchandiſe; repreſenting that his profit would be greater, becauſe the uſual duties would be paid without any fraud; whereas to avoid this Tenth, the Merchants combine, and they that have French Goods, get one or other to atteſt they are Engliſh or Flemmiſh, and ſo (at moſt) pay but the ordinary Cuſtom, of which alſo they are ſometimes crafty enough to deceive him.

The Commerce of theſe is principally in *Andaluſia*, where they have found a place of freedom as convenient as *Cadis*; this is the haven of *Santa Maria*, a little Town belonging to the Duke af *Medina Cœli*, who protects them, and draws great Trade to the prejudice of *Cadis* and *Sevil*.

When *Spain* and *France* were at peace, Traffick was more difficult then at preſent, little Merchandiſe arriving that was not confiſcated under pretence of coming from *Holland*. There never wanted two or three Knights of the Poſt to ſwear this, but time and care have given remedy to this miſchief, and falſe ſwearers eſcape not, Merchants by preſenting a Bever. or ſome other Knack, putting themſelves under the protection of ſome Grande.

By this is evident that *Spain* cannot well be without Commerce with *France*, not only on the Frontiers

Frontiers of *Biſcai* and *Arragon*, where it hath been almoſt ever permitted, but through the whole Countrey where it is prohibited, for *Provence* hath ever had correſpondencies in the Kingdom of *Valentia*, by its neceſſity of the others Commodities; and for the ſame reaſon *Britaign*, *Normandy*, and other parts on the Ocean have continually ſent theirs to *Cadis* and *Bilbo*. I ſpeak not of Corn and Stuffs of all ſorts brought from that Country, but even of Iron-work and Sword; by which it appears a miſtake to think that in theſe dayes the beſt come out of *Spain*. No more being now made at *Toledo*, few but forrain are uſed, unleſs a very ſmall quantity that come from *Biſcai*, which are exceſſivly dear.

It is moreover hard to imagine how much *Spain* ſuffers for want of manufactures: So few Artificers remain in its Towns, that native Commodities are carried abroad to be wrought in forrain Countries. Wools and Silks are tranſported raw, and being ſpun and weaved in *England*, *France*, and *Holland*, return thither at dear rates. The Land it ſelf is not tilled by the people it feeds. In Seed-time, Harveſt, and Vintage, Husbandmen come from *Bearn* and other parts of *France*, who get a great deal of money by ſowing and reaping their Corn, and dreſſing and cutting their Vines. Carpenters and Maſons are (for the moſt part) alſo ſtrangers, who will be paid treble what they can get in their own Countrey. In *Madrid* there is hardly a Waterbearer that is not a Foreigner, ſuch are alſo the

greateſt

greateſt part of Shoomakers and Taylors, and it is believed the third of theſe come only to get a little money and aſtewards return home, but none thrive ſo much as Architects, Maſons, and Carpenters. Almoſt every houſe hath wooden windows (here being no glaſs) and a balcony jntting into the Street. Once in five years all Fabricks are re-builded, of which the Frontiſpiece only is done with Lime, the ſides and back-parts, being uſually earth.

Every houſe in *Madrid* pays duties to the King which mount high, the firſt floor of every one is his, which if not redeemed, he may ſell at his pleaſure; This the Proprietors uſually buy, to do which if they be not able they build no more but it alone. This is the reaſon there are ſo many little houſes in *Madrid*, with only one ſtair to get up to the Garret. The moſt conſiderable Architecture is that which is adorned with ſome Tower, only one of theſe is allowed, and he that will build more, muſt have permiſſion to do it: A fellow that thought he ſhould have much ado to obtain this, begged leave but for one, which being eaſily granted, he built one on account of the permiſſion, and another becauſe one had never been prohibited. Nothing is more notorious, then that *Madrid* wanting both ſome Rivolet to void its filth and Vault to receive it, caſts all into the Street; but it is admirable to ſee that by vivacity and penetration of the Air, all is conſumed in a moment, it being as drying and corroſive (if one may ſo call it) as lime that devours a body before the cor-

corruption discovers it self, and I have found dead Dogs and Cats in the Streets that smelt not, by which we may perceive they had reason that chose this place for the Seat of their Kings, the Air being not only hard to corrupt, but takes away even the cause of corruption, by dissolution of Elementary qualities as sudden as imperceptible. In antient times their Queens repaired hither to lie in, that the Princes might at their births breath an Air whose purity is not to be equalized. The Waters of this place have been weighed against several other, and none have been found so light. The Cardinal Infant had them carried with him into *Flanders*, and great care was taken to ship for him Tuns of the same the King drinks, the Fountain of which is a little without the Town. The Streets here being Common Shores, one ran great hazard, were it allowed at all hours to cast out at window what the people will no longer keep in their houses; but from day break til ten at Night this is forbidden under a pecuniary mulct. Once I remember I saw a Woman that had forgot this, whom the Serjeants, that wait on such little advantages, immediately caused to pay the Fine, which is Sixty Rials, about 25 *s.* of our Money. They which walk a Nights, carry neither Torch nor Lantern, which I never saw born before any, whether in Coach, a horsback, or a foot; Ladies of quality only make use of these, such as belong to the Court especially, who then muster all their Footmen. Women here go abroad with much more splendor than their Husbands, for

for beſides a great number of ſervants about their Sedans, a Steward or Maſter of the Horſe ſtill follows them on horſeback: in great houſes, Footmen neither enter their Lords chamber, nor yet his apartment, they being ſerved by their Gentlemen, Pages, and other Officers; when called, they kneel, receiving their Commands; this cuſtom hath gone higher in the Favourites family, for I have been aſſured, that when Don *Lewis* gives Audience, and his Secretary ſerves as Interpreter, he kneels; and what is ſtranger, that *Fernando de Contreras* (none of his Domeſtick, but the Kings ſervant, and the moſt conſiderable of his Secretaries of State, as having charge of the *Deſpecho* Univerſal) pays him that honour. For what concerns the reſpect due to the King and all ſuch as are near him; they have many little cuſtoms very extraordinary; amongſt others, that no man ever mounts a horſe the King hath once made uſe of: and they ſay, that after the taking of *Barcelona*, in the Cavalcade his Majeſty made to *Atocha*; the Duke of *Medina de los torres*, ſent to preſent him his moſt beautiful horſe that was ſo famous in *Madrid*; but the King returned him, ſaying, *Serina laſtima*, that is, it were pity, ſince by that means he would become uſeleſs, and rid only by Querries: and indeed no horſes are ſo little rid as the Kings, who almoſt burſt with fat, acquired by continual ſtanding in the Stable, which is not very well furniſhed, becauſe he gives away the beſt; he lately ſent the Queen of *Sweden* Twelve of the

greateſt value; the wars have made horſes very ſcarſe and dear in *Spain*, eſpecially in the beginning of winter, when all provide themſelves to ride about the ſtreets of *Madrid*, whoſe dirt is ſo troubleſome, it can neither be avoided nor got out of any thing it lights on.

They are cheaper in *June*, people going afoot during the fair weather, which laſts till the end of *September*.

We were told of another cuſtom, no leſs extraordinary, that no natural Son of the King, owned to be ſuch, may enter *Madrid*; and that Don *John* of *Auſtria*, who at preſent, Commands in *Catalonia*, was never there, he was bred at *Ocanna*, ſome Leagues from the Court where the King ſometimes viſited him, and not long ſince he was within a League of this Town where he alſo met him. It is believed this King hath more ſuch iſſue, but being by Ladys of quality, he owns them not; he ſeldom attempted any without ſucceſs; yet a certain Lady of *Madrid*, is reported to have been inexorable to him, though ſhe was not ſo to all the world; ſhe ſtill excuſed her ſelf with proteſtations of as much eſteem as reſpect for his perſon, but that ſhe could not without horror apprehend to become a whore of Hiſtory.

I enquired the reaſon why the Kings natural iſſue may not come to *Madrid*, but found none cou'd ſatisfie me; for that which is generally received, that it is to avoid diſputes of the precedence between them and the Grandes

of

of *Spain*, is of no validity, ſince I have ſeen a Letter of *Don Lewis de Haro* to *Don John* of *Auſtria*, which treats him, not only with Highneſs, but moſt Serene Highneſs; but whatſoever the cauſe may be that the Gates of the Court are thus ſhut againſt them, and of the jealouſie real or imaginary, might be occaſioned by their preſence there; it is moſt certain that this nation hath a great deal, for whatſoever in the leaſt concerns it in love or Honour, of which, many little ſtories of daily paſſages in *Madrid* are related, where the extravagance of Women produces various paſſions in the commerce of criminal Gallantry, which hath its punctilios of honor as well as a knot of high-way men, its juſtice within it ſelf; They which keep *Amancebadas*; that is, Miſtriſſes maintained at their charge, are more jealous of them then of their wives; and ſuch of theſe as have a ſervant that ordinarily viſits them, call him Infidel and Traytor, if they ever know he goes to others, and to this purpoſe I have been told that the King himſelf being with a Lady the Admiral of *Caſtille* kept, that young lord tranſported by jealouſie, forgetting all reſpect and conſideration, having knocked violently at the door, gave the Mother of that wench who opened it, many boxes on the ear, ſaying, Jade, thou makeſt me Cuckold, but if I could get up, I would ſtrangle both thee and thy daughter, were it in the Kings preſence.

Though the Profeſſion of Curtiſans admits no conceptions but of intereſt and deſign for rapine,

they are ſometimes excellent Counterfeiters of Paſſion, and borrow the tranſports of real affection. The Earl of *Fieſchi*, who at his firſt arrival at *Madrid*, paſſionately attacked that Sex, tells as a Gallantry, his uſage by one of thoſe Cattle, who openly at the *Tour* fell upon him with reproaches of infidelity, calling him *Traidor* and *Picaro*, becauſe ſhe had heard he had a new Miſtreſs.

And Mr. *de Mogeron* was not a little ſurprized, by a Womans treating him in the ſame manner one Evening, pulling him by the hair with reproaches and injuries; becauſe he had not viſited her according to a promiſe made her at the *Tour*, where he met her the day before. They do a thouſand ſuch extravagances, and are really Miſtreſſes of the Epithite *Bizarre*, which in their Language is underſtood in ſo good a ſenſe. They are ridiculous in their habit, and wear their richeſt accoutrements under others very homely, ſo that you would not take any of them to be braver than the reſt, unleſs you ſee them at ſome Feſtival, or that as they paſs by, they let the Clinquant of their Waſtcotes appear; their Linnen is Cambrick moſt generally uſed and beſt eſteemed in *Spain*: they paint not their faces only, but change alſo the colour of thoſe parts that leaſt appear. Their Smocks are alſo laid with Bonelaces, where viſible only to their Gallants, indeed of thoſe ſlight ones that are made in *Provence* or *Lorrain*, thoſe of *Flanders* being unknown to them, unleſs when they force ſome bits of them from Strangers, tearing their Bands or Cuffs.

Beſides

Beſides the great numbers of looſe Women that are to be found up and down *Madrid*, there are others in certain fixed quarters, countenanced by Publick Authority, for accommodation of any that will go to them. Theſe are called *Cantonera's*, perhaps *Bulkers*. They have a Salary from the Town, for which cauſe ſo infamous an imployment is ſought after, and when one of the Jades dies or is diſabled by the Pox, the Magiſtrates are ſollicited for the vacancy. What their Penſion is I could not learn, but thoſe which aſſured me of this beaſtly eſtabliſhment, told me that every one that viſits them is obliged to pay them 12 *Quarto's*, about 6 Pence of our Money. Phyſitians are fee'd by the publick, to take care they be free from thoſe Peſtilential Diſeaſes that are gained by ſo honourable a Profeſſion. A Matron alſo belongs to them, who is obliged to advertiſe the Magiſtrate or Phyſitian, as ſoon as ſhe diſcovers any thing amiſs. They which deſcribed to me the lives of theſe miſerable creatures, told me that when they are accompanied, a ſecond man is never admitted, on which account there never happens any diſorder; the firſt enterer leaving his Sword and Dagger at the Door, which when they which come after perceive, they retire without more ado. Sinning thus with impunity and toleration of Publick Authority, they ſeldom forſake the vice they ſo openly profeſſe, though one day in the year is devoted to exhort them to repentance: On a Friday in *Lent*, they are by an *Alguazil* or two conducted to the Church of Penitents, and

there ſeated near the Pulpit, where the Preacher does his beſt to touch their hearts, but ſeldom with ſucceſs; after many vain exhortations to amend their lives, deſcending from his Pulpit, he preſents them the Crucifix, ſaying, *Behold the Lord, embrace him*; which if any does, ſhe is immediately taken away, and ſhut up in the Cloiſter of Penitents; but uſually they only hang down their heads and ſhed a few tears, without laying hold on what is offered, and after their grimaces continue their deboſhed life; neither can the Story of St. *Mary Magdalene* ſo often inculcated to them, move them to imitation of her.

In this antick of remarques which I have daubed with ſo many colours, I muſt not forget what concerns the impriſonment of the Duke of *Lorrain*. He failed but very little of an eſcape, and that news had not come of his being entered the Frontiers of *Portugal* when he was thought ſtill in the heart of *Caſtille*. As ſoon as he arrived in *Spain* he was confined to *Toledo*, without being admitted to the Kings preſence. When misfortunes of War or State caſt one Soveraign into the hands of another, methinks he ought not to be treated altogether as a Priſoner, but that his Captivity ſhould be made uſe of, to work upon him and gain his affection by Offices of honour and civility. Of the two French Kings that were taken Priſoners, it is notoriouſly known that *Francis* the Firſt left *Spain* intirely poſſeſſed by thoughts of hatred and revenge on account of his ill uſage by *Charles* the Fifth;

Fifth: and that *John* returned from *England* ſo well ſatisfied, that he was ever afterward careful to live with *Edward* as with a Friend and Brother: but the Spaniſh auſterity ſuffers not a Maxime that may be deceitful, and graſpes hard whatever it laies hold on to prevent eſcape: She would never let Duke *Charles* taſte the air of her Court, and notwithſtanding his many inſtances, ever treated him as a ſimple priſoner of State, though ſhe ſuffered him to go abroad under good Guard both to Church and to take the Air, which incited him to attempt greater liberty. Thus he laid his deſign, One of the Kings Coaches was appointed to attend him, whoſe Coachman happened to be a Lorrainer, and conſequently his ſubject. He ſuppoſed this mans affection to his natural Prince, would oblige him to be aſſiſting towards his liberty, and reſolved to have him ſounded. I could not learn whom he made uſe of to engage him, nor in what manner he ſet it a foot, but it is ſaid, that having gained him, he ſeveral times left Tickets under the Cuſhions of the Coach, and the place he ſate on, which the Coachman very carefully took away; and by means of a Lorrain Embroderer, ſent to thoſe that had the principal management of the Affair. This went ſo far before its diſcovery, that the Coachman had received inſtructions to drive the Duke very often beyond a ruinated Building that was near the part he uſually frequented, and one day, when leaſt ſuſpected, 50 Horſmen were appointed to lie concealed behind it, who having killed his Guards and ſet him at

liberty, were to convoy him to the Frontiers of *Portugal*, where 500 Horſe ſhould be ready to receive him. A Ticket, and perhaps the laſt that was neceſſary to this Negotiation, diſcovered it; for whether it were that it was not handſomly enough conveyed under the Cuſhion, or whether the Captain that then commanded the Guard, and was in the Coach with him, obſerved better what was done than others, or that he was more jealous, going out of the Coach, ſearching the Cuſhion, he found the Ticket; upon this the Duke was more ſtraitly ſhut up, the Coachman impriſoned, and the Ticket ſent to *Madrid*, where the Dukes Secretary and the Embroiderer were ſecured; the laſt of theſe was racked, but the particulars of what he depoſed never publiſhed The light that appeared at the bottom of this Affair, moved the Spaniards themſelves to ſay, *That to hold the Duke faſter at the very time his liberty was moſt earneſtly ſollicited, they perſwaded him he would have made an eſcape:* whatever may be of it, it is certain the Duke was not afterwards allowed to go out of *Toledo*, and that this unfortunate Prince might juſtly complain, *That if the French Neighbourhood was a ſmoke that drove him from his Houſe with tears in his eyes, the Spaniſh Friendſhip was a fire that burnt him alive.* Which if we may beheve publick report, was his own expreſſion to the Captain that guarded him. All that hath been given out of the cauſes of his impriſonment hath divulged but part of the miſtery, and I ſought at *Madrid* to inform my ſelf of the real motive.

motive. They which ſpeak and judge moſt ſolidly ſay, *That this was rather done on account of reaſon of State, and to ſpare money, than that he had indeed betraied his party*; and truly the taking quarters in the Land of *Liege* that Winter, rendred him no more culpable that year, then his ſeeking them at his Swords point had done in thoſe that went before: but the conjuncture differed, and the Elector of *Cullen*, who had made himſelf abſolute Maſter of that people, deſirous to them a more powerful protection, clamored much at the Diet of *Ratisbonne*, from whence, as misfortune would have it, he retired diſſatisfied with the Emperour, for having decided to the advantage of him of *Mentz*, the Diſpute that was between them about the Function of crowning the King of Romans. As ſoon as he arrived at *Cullen*, he wrote to the Emperour, that without ſpeedy ſuccors, according to the Laws of the Empire, to free his Countrey from the devaſtations of the Lorrainers, he muſt have recourſe to the protection of ſome foraign Prince. This Affair being taken into conſideration, the Emperour only wrote about it to *Bruſſelles* and *Madrid*. The Elector in the mean time took heat, and reſolving no longer to expect the event of thoſe delays, raiſed forces, treated with *France*, and gave her opportunity of re-aſſuming the Black Eagle in her Colours, and renuing the Title of *Preſerver of the German Liberty*. Cardinal *Mazzarin*, who during his retirement had been ſo well received by this Elector, loſt not the opportunity of making his acknowledg-

ments,

ments, and ſent him Troops under the Command of Monſieur *Faber*, which joyned to his own, forced the Lorrainers to diſcamp, whom it was reſolved to purſue even into *Brabant*, to revenge the havock they had made in the Land of *Liege*, and aſſiſt the French in ſome Conqueſt. This bold proceeding, awaked the Emperors jealouſie, who perceived that in that very moment he had re-eſtabliſhed his Authority in the Empire, and when he had given an end to a Diet, in which he had cauſed his Son to be crowned King of Romans, one of the powerfulleſt Princes of *Germany*, ſought other protection than his, and gave example to all his Neighbours to do the like, as often as they ſhould be oppreſſed by Troops entertained by *Spain*. Theſe conſiderations obliged the Emperour to ſend the Earl of *Furſtemberg* to the Elector of *Cullen*, to work him, and prevent his going farther in the Treaty with the French, promiſing him an effectual and real ſatisfaction for what was paſſed, and for the future to eſtabliſh ſuch order, he ſhould no more need to apprehend the like viſits. At the ſame time he wrote to *Madrid* and *Bruſſelles*, with all poſſible efficacy, to repreſent the dangerous conſequences of this Affair, how prejudicial it was to him, and neceſſity of the remedies he propoſed, which were to ſatisfie the Elector of *Cullen* with Money, ſo to oblige him to lay down Arms and diſmiſs the French, to make ſure of the perſon of the Duke of *Lorrain*, that he might be no leſs ſo of his Conduct, the cauſe

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of all theſe inconveniences, and to uſe his Brother Duke *Francis* for continuing the Army in the Spaniſh Service, which he thought might eaſily be prevailed upon, by giving it a Head of the ſame Family, and preſenting the Chief Officers with money. Theſe reaſons and expedients were the better reliſhed by the Spaniſh Miniſters, out of apprehenſion of the Storm that began to gather againſt them. The great Services the Duke had rendered the Houſe of *Auſtria*, were of no advantage to him in their Council, nor any thing examined but his avaritious and unequal Politicks, his irreſolutions alone were repreſented, and the times in which he had declined their Service, when they might have obtained great advantages, if he would have acted with his forces.

The accompt was alſo caſt up of the great Sums he had coſt the King of *Spain* yearly, by a crafty ſelling him his Army as if at an outcry, ſo that if they would make uſe of it in the beginning of a Campagne, or continue it at the end of it, he muſt be paid at his own rates. It was at laſt concluded as well at *Madrid* as *Bruſſelles*, that for a certain remedy to all theſe miſchiefs, to prevent falling again into the like inconveniences, and put a ſtop to the preparations making at *Liege*, the Elector was not only to be indemnified, and the protection of the Duke of *Lorrain* abandoned, but his perſon to be ſeiſed on and ſent into *Spain*. Thus this Prince ſaw himſelf treated as a Soldier of fortune, and not like a Soveraign, by a Family whoſe

whoſe friendſhip cauſed the loſs of his Countrey, and reduced him to the ſad neceſſity of living like a vagabond at the Head of an Army that ſubſiſted only by his induſtry. If what hath been reported of the firſt heats of his youth be true, and that he then lamented he was not born a private Gentleman, to try how far his wit and courage could carry him; one would think he had deveſted himſelf of his Dominions, only to ſhew what he could do without them. That he had very eminent parts, is undeniable, but overſhadowed by ſuch uncouth Policies, and in ſuch a manner intermixed with humor and vanity, that one would think he had but one Maxime ſacred and inviolable to him, *To prefer what was profitable above what was honourable or honeſt.* It is not therefore ſtrange that he built his ruin on ſo bad foundations, nor that after his imitation of that crafty *Lewis* the Moor Duke of *Milan*, and all his ſhifts and ſlights of hand, he is caught in a trap, from whence his deliverance is very incertain, and whether he end not his dayes in the Caſtle of *Toledo*, as the other did in the Tower of *Loches*; though it is believed here, that were his Army disbanded, his liberty might be obtained without much difficulty, becauſe the Spaniards are confident they need apprehend nothing from this Prince, who loves his money too well to employ it in his revenge, and the 200 thouſand Livres a year he is reported to have within the Dominions of the King of *Spain* to forfeit them. To which they adde, that were he deſirous to take Arms, he needs the

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ſupport of *France*, which he will probably fail of obtaining, without an entire giving up *Lorrain*, which they will either keep ſtill, or reſtore on conditions but little better, and ſuch as he will never accept, for fear of depriving himſelf of what belongs to him for ſo ſmall an advancement towards his particular ſatisfaction. On theſe grounds they adde, that even the Miniſters of *Spain* wiſh the deſtruction of his Army, which in the faſhion it ſubſiſts and is diſciplined, coſts them very dear, but they would gladly gather together its ruins, and incorporate them with their other Troops, that their Enemies might not profit by them, the fear of which hinders their undertaking it. This makes evident that Princes are incommoded by Auxiliary forces that ſerve in a Body, and under a Head they own as their abſolute Maſter, for it is alwayes hard to oblige them to do well, and no leſs difficult to disband or be quit of them, and therefore the wiſeſt Princes, that have been neceſſitated to make uſe of ſuch, have at firſt endeavoured to ſeparate and mix them with their own, to prevent their correſpondence, and diminiſh the Authority of thoſe that brought them. The Venetians once endeavored to deal in this manner with the Marquis of *Roquelaure*, and the Prince of *Orange*, at relieving *Berghen ap Zome*, would have obliged *Mansfelt* to ſuffer ſuch a ſeparation: but neither of them would conſent, but made appear that this is not to be propounded or obtained, but of a Soldier of fortune, that hath drawn

drawn together forces he is not able to make ſubſiſt.

The moſt publick curioſity, whilſt we were in *Spain*, was to divine the deſignes of that Fleet *Cromwel* ſent into the *Indies*, and at our arrival at *Vittoria*, being ſaluted by a man of good preſence, who enquired what was ſpoken of it in the parts we came from, when we told him it was believed thoſe great preparations were made to ſubdue the Iſle of *Hiſpaniola*, he aſſured us that if the *Engliſh* began there they would fail of ſucceſs, that he knew that Country very well, having lived ſome time in it, and that this Iſland was one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt populous of *America*. That after the year 1586. in which *St. Domingo* (its Capital City) was ſacked by Sir *Francis Drake*, it was put in ſuch a poſture as could no more apprehend the like misfortune, and a very fair Citadel raiſed adjoyining to it, whoſe ſcituation is ſo advantageous, it ſeems, deſtined to command the neighbouring Sea. When we came to *Madrid*, I found that thoſe little Cabals, as well of *Spaniards* as Strangers, that met a Mornings in the firſt Court of the Palace, uſually entertained themſelves with the aſſurances *Cromwel* had given the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, that the Fleet he had ſent into the *Indies* ſhould attempt nothing againſt his King: that they therefore made no queſtion but it was to drive the *French* out of what they poſſeſſed in *New France*, and that it was there he would begin a Warre againſt them, and break that Treaty of Peace from which he had often declined,

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and again complied with, the better to amuſe them. But the clear ſighted eaſily judged ſo conſiderable preparations aimed not at ſo ſlight a Conqueſt. Computing his charge, they found that all the *French* poſſeſſed, whether Iſlands or Continent in thoſe quarters was not equivalent to any conſiderable part of his expences, and therefore concluded he had ſome vaſter and more important deſign. Theſe men ſeemed to me to flatter themſelves leaſt, and to be moſt reaſonable, for I had often heard ſuch as had negotiated with *Cromwell* ſay, that if they had any judgement, they aſſured themſelves they miſtook not in this obſervation, that he had a particular paſſion for ſome great Enterpriſe in the *Indies*. After he had made all *Europe* admire and fear his Naval Power by a War againſt *Holland*, which yet was more glorious than profitable to his Country, it is probable he contrived how to imploy his arms in ſome part where he might reimburſs part of his charges. Although of all his Neighbours he at that time uſed the *French* worſt; yet it may eaſily be judged it was not his intereſt to come to an entire rupture with them; becauſe their Traffick for the moſt part making uſe either of *Engliſh* or *Holland* Veſſels, he ſhould by that means diſpleaſe either his own Merchants, or thoſe with whom he had lately made peace, beſides that the *French* had for ſome years been Maſters at free-booting againſt whom if he ſent a Fleet, they would eaſily avoid it, their deſign being only to pillage; ſo that he ſhould be at a great charge againſt them that would al-

wayes flye from him, and waiting for his Merchants, oblige him to convoy's; unleſs he would loſe all the Trade of the *Mediterranean*, and part of that of the Ocean. *Cromwels* intereſt therefore requiring a War, and a War by ſea, that may yie'd him profit proportionable to the great equipage of Men, Arms, and Ships he is obliged to maintain, to make himſelf feared, by which he hath obtained the Command of both Seas, he will not attaque *France*, who having all within her ſelf, waits till Strangers bring home to her that ſhe can be without, and fetch from her that which is abſolutely neceſſary to them. For it hath been obſerved that her greateſt and wealthieſt Cities are not ſcituated near the ſea (though two waſh her Coaſts) but in the middle of the Country. By this appears that her Stock of wealth is within her ſelf, and that (according to the Polititians rule) ſhe is rather *Vendax* than *Emax*, ſelling more than ſhe buys. Her ſoil being ſo rich and fertil, it is no wonder ſhe hath in all times abandoned the Ocean to be plough'd by her Neighbours, who employ a great part of their art and labour to ſend her as tribute the fruits of it. To make a war therefore againſt *France* with profit, it muſt moſt certainly be done by land; but if we conſider the preſent condition of *England*, a War of this nature ſeems not to agree with it; for we may eaſily judge that *Englands* deſign now aims at no more then to maintain her ſelf in her preſent poſture, and to become redoubtable to all the Princes of *Europe* by a power ſuitable to her ſcituation, which hinders

hinders their attempting any thing againſt her, and obliges them (though againſt their wills) to approve what hath paſſed, by owning her Republick. To this purpoſe ſhe reſolves to be continually potently armed both at home and abroad, one of which puts her in a condition to concern her ſelf in all the affairs of her Neighbours, without their interpoſing in hers, whilſt ſhe is invironed by a prodigious number of invincible moving Caſtles, which when ſhe pleaſes ſhe joyns for her defence, and cauſes to fly for her advantage to what part ſoever ſeems good to her; by the other ſhe thinks ſecurely to fix her innovated tyranny, in continual danger of an inſurrection of the people, to reſtrain whom her Militia is a curb, as it is lightening to deſtroy thoſe that attempt to war upon her. In fine ſhe can make uſe of theſe winged courſers both near hand and at a diſtance, and nothing confining them to her Coaſts, where there will always remain enow; for Guards and Rounds exact enough to juſtifie her *Media inſuperabilis unda*, the reſt may ſeek their fortune abroad, and either wait for the *Indian* Treaſures in their way to *Spain*, or ſeize them in their mines. But it is not thus with her land-forces, who muſt ever be at home to keep up her uſurped power, which will be hazarded by the firſt ſhock ſhe receives from the many male-contents that have much ado to ſuffer her.

A War by land muſt needs therefore be prejudicial to *England* in the preſent Conjuncture, and with *France* deſtructive, it being the moſt

potent Nation of Chriſtendom in this age, its Forces the moſt united, and that may with the greateſt eaſe be drawn to any part where there ſhall be occaſion for them, ſo that it cannot be attacqued, but by great and courageous Armies; of which if this pretended Republick make uſe, ſhe muſt diſfurniſh her ſelf of her truſtieſt Commanders, and ſtouteſt Souldiers, which ſhe cannot do without danger of loſing her new form of Government. Neither is it very much to the purpoſe to ſay, that for ſecuring it ſhe can make new Levies, to ſupply the places of the old ones ſhe ſends abroad; for to an unſettled power, ſupported only by the boldneſs of the Uſurpers that raiſed it, ſuch a change is very dangerous. It cannot be denied that *England* uniting with *Spain* would turn the ballance that way; but beſides that, to do ſo would be of little advantage to her, there would be an incounter of the ſame inconveniencies. For ſhe muſt either joyn her Forces to theirs, and then *France* that is ſo great a nurſery of Souldiers, having put an end to its civil warre, minding only that which is forraign, would not need much to ſtrain it ſelf to oppoſe Armies belonging to ſeveral Maſters, and of divers intereſts, which ſeldom ſucceed in any thing they undertake; or elſe ſend an Army of her own, againſt which *France* would immediately unite all its power, and be the mean while only on the defenſive againſt *Spain*, who to make a thrifty uſe of ſuch a conjuncture, would move but ſlowly and weakly to aſſiſt her. However ſhe might proceed, this is moſt certain, ſhe would

would be conſtrained to weaken her Land Forces, the only Supporters of that New Republick. Should ſhe act only by Sea, and furniſh the Spaniards with Money, to recruit their Armies, it hath been already ſhewed ſhe would make no advantage by the former, and that a War attended by ſuch Booty and Conqueſt as may countervail the charge and labour is only proper for her: for the ſecond, it is ſufficiently known that the Treaſure of *England* is much exhauſted, and that ſhe owes large ſums both to her Land and Sea Forces; and that to prevent her over-charging her People, by the great Expence ſhe is obliged to, the Gold of *Peru* is more neceſſary to her, then to ſupply from her own Treaſury thoſe that are Maſters of it.

During theſe Diſcourſes, Letters came to *Madrid* that cleared all Doubts, for after a long amuſing the World with expectation of the Fleet and the great Treaſure it was to bring with it, and after knowledge that what was on the principal Gallion, which had been wracked, was for the moſt part ſaved, a rumor aroſe that it had been met with by the Engliſh, who made no difficulty of attacquing it, but that after a vigorous defence, in which it ſunk two or three of their Ships, it had retired into the *Havana*, the Chief City of the Iſle of *Cuba*. I know not whether this particular was true, but am certain it was written from *Cadis* and *Sevil*, and from that time believed that *Cromwell* intended to have his ſhare of the Treaſure of the *Indies*. More to confirm this, the Engliſh Merchants

that reſided in *Spain*, began to ſend away, and as well as they could to conceal their Goods, fearing a Confiſcation in caſe of Rupture; a little after which it appeared that this Pre-caution was not uſeleſs, for Admiral *Blake* who had paſſed the Spring and part of the Summer in the *Mediterranean*, returned into the Ocean juſt at the time the Gallions were expected. It is ſaid he deſired to careen, which not being permitted, but on certain conditions, he ſeemed offended; and having taken aboard him ſeveral Engliſh Merchants with their Conſul, put out to Sea, and ſcouted about Cape St *Vincent*. It was then quickly underſtood that he looked for the Gallions, with intention to fight them if they eſcaped *Pen* and *Venables*, who were in the *Indies*; this cauſed ſeveral Advice Boats to be diſpatched from *Cadis* by Order of the Council in *Madrid*, to give notice to the Gallions that they ſhould not leave the Haven they were retired to, till farther Order: at the ſame time a reſolution was taken to fit up ſome Ships, partly at the Kings Charge, and partly at that of the Merchants, that were concerned to watch the motions of this Admiral. Great part of the Traffick of *Europe* depending on the arrival of the Gallions, many Ships are ever about *Cadis* at the time it is expected. Of theſe and ſome others a Fleet was quickly made ready, and ſent to anchor near *Blake*, yet without hoſtility, if the other began not, and only to endeavour (in caſe the Gallions had not received the advice ſent them) to ſecure them from him. Theſe

two

two Fleets contemplated one another two or three moneths without any act of hoſtility, either general or particular, and whileſt one of them thus waited for his prey, and the other to ſecure it from him, news came that the *Spaneſh* Fleet was advertiſed of the deſign againſt it, and would not leave the Haven it had retired into without expreſs order. At the ſame time alſo it was ſaid that *Pen* and *Venables* had attacqued *St. Domingo*, but with ſo bad ſucceſs, that after loſs of many of their men, they went off for the iſland of *Jamaica* and conquered it.

This proceeding of *Cromwell* changed the diſcourſes of thoſe that looked on him as one of the neareſt and faithfulled Allies of *Spain*, who had firſt of all acknowledged him: For as ſoon as an execrable Party of the ſcum of this Nation, violating all Laws divine and humane, had poſſeſſed themſelves of its Government, and (by an attempt ſo horrible it cannot be paralelled in foregoing times, nor ſcarce miſtruſted in the worſt that ſhall ſucceed) at one ſtroke deprived their King of his Crown and head, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador received order from *Madrid* to endeavour to make advantage by it, and court the friendſhip of that new Republick for his Maſter, by giving it in his name all ſuch titles and rights of a legitimate Power as it ſhould deſire: it was very likely he might ſucceed in this, there being probability enough of a league againſt *France*, who not only received the exiled Family of the King of *England*, and refuſed to own *Cromwell*, but ſeiſed all his Ships, and gave freedom of

his Havens to thoſe that remained faithful to their King.

The hopes of ſo advantageous a Treaty increaſed in *Madrid*, not only by *Englands* giving Letters of Repriſal againſt *France*, and landing forces hoſtilely in *Bretaigne*, but by her being ſo kind to *Spain*, that ſhe cauſed her Fleet to take thoſe ſhips *France* ſent to ſuccour *Dunkirk* beſieged by it. All theſe fair appearances of Amity proved inſignificant, and the Uſurper that governs in *England*, who ſeems no leſs crafty than bold ſo well underſtands the intereſts of his infant Republick, that he by degrees accommodates all to them.

She is Miſtriſs of many ſtrong and populous Iſles ſcituated on the paſſage to the *Indies*, and that are keys to to the Gates that may lay open a way to ſo rich a Conqueſt, by means of which, ſhe may ſurprize its treaſures as they paſs by, if ſhe will not take the pains to dig them out of the Mines, of which ſhe may certainly make her ſelf Miſtriſs: ſhe knows that all the great extent of Land the Spaniards poſſeſſed there, adheres to their Dominion, more out of apprehenſion of their violence, and becauſe none hath vigorouſly attempted to deprive them of it, then by any real power they have eſtabliſhed, capable of preventing this; *England* thus underſtanding the advantages ſhe hath towards getting her ſhare of the new world, with the weakneſs of thoſe who pretend it diſcovered for them alone; it is not ſtrange if ſhe endeavor to profit by both of them; eſpecially

cially in a time, where they which ſit at Helme are obliged to be powerfully armed, and to employ their many Fleets in ſome profitable war, that may make them ſubſiſt without the peoples murmuring at their great charge in entertaining them: and the Spaniards, as quick ſighted in their politicks, as ſlow paced in their enterprizes, very well foreſee, that if the French Negotiations with *Cromwel* effect a peace between them, he will purſue his intereſt, and forget all advances *Spain* hath made to gain his friendſhip, This they think they ought the firmlier to believe, when they remember they could never get ſatisfaction for ſeveral prizes taken by the Engliſh, eſpecially, for the money deſigned for a whole Campagne which they ſent by ſea to *Flanders*, not knowing how to make it over by Bills of Exchange, by reaſon of their difference with *Genoua*: however, that they might not in ſo conſiderable a conjuncture, be wanting to themſelves, and out of conſideration of the advice, *Philip* the II gave his Son at his death, to be in peace with *England*, that he might be able to make a war with all the world; they neglected nothing that might oblige *Cromwel* to a good underſtanding with them. *Alfonſo de Cardenas* their Ambaſſador in *England*, and who having reſided there ſince the beginning of the troubles, is looked on as very able in manageing thoſe affairs, endeavoured all means of a good underſtanding, and to thwart the French Treaty, but his politicks being apprehended at *Madrid*, to be leſs under-

taking then thoſe of *de Bourdeaux* the French Ambaſſador; a reſolution was taken to ſend thither out of *Flanders* the Marquis of *Leda*, Governour of *Dunkirk*, as Extraordinary; theſe two perſons joyned all their adreſs to bring *Cromwel* to ſome friendly compoſure of differences about the complaints the Spaniards made againſt him, and his againſt them; but finding no favourable Audience of their many propoſals, the laſt of theſe reſolved to be gone, with regret, to have done nothing for his Maſters ſervice, but to have given him clearer light of *Cromwels* bad intentions againſt him: it therefore began to be more publickly diſcourſed in *Madrid*, that the many delays in his Negotiation with *France*, were but tricks to lull the Spaniard aſleep, whilſt he ſent to attacque his *Indies*; and that the Treaty which he ſometimes ſeemed ready to break off, and again to renew, had been agreed on, and privately ſigned three moneths before. *Spain* now beleeved *England* intended a breach with her, and though the paſſion of the *Caſtilians*, inveighed ſharply againſt the avarice and ambition of *Cromwel*, which moved him to invade their Treaſure; the moderate ſort reaſoned otherwiſe, and in what was paſſed, ſought the cauſes of what was preſent and to come. But by ſuch diſcourſes, one could not judge of the whole ſecret, or entire cauſe of the war they apprehended. the thoughts of ſuch as ſit at the Helme of Government being covered with a cloud of appearances, which diſguiſe them even to thoſe that have the neareſt

proſpect;

proſpect; for the moſt part diſcovering nothing but the pretences; their actions being like great Rivers, of which, though the ſtreams are viewed by all, the heads are invſiible. They yet at laſt eaſily perſwaded themſelves, that whilſt their King had ſo many irons in the fire, that he knew not where to find either Wood or Coals to heat them, *Cromwel* would make uſe of the occaſion to attacque him both in the new and old world, where expecting little reſiſtance, he needed not doubt of a certain profit, more conſiderable to him then the jealouſie of the French progreſſions or cautions given by the maxime, *Decreſcat Iberus nec creſcat Gallus.*

On theſe grounds they concluded, that *Cromwel* fearing a peace between *France* and *Spain*, and ſtanding in need of an advantagious war to juſtfy his continuing in Arms, would attacque the weakeſt, and let the future ſafety of his eſtate giue way to the preſent neceſſity, and on that account agree with *France*, that he might ſhare in her victories by leaving Land enterprizes to her, and applying himſelf to thoſe of the ſea, which better ſuit with his affairs and the ſupport of his power.

But if all this diſcourſe be grounded on conjectures, by which they which are curious in *Madrid*, ſeem to divine of the future, and fancy reaſons perhaps very different from the Engliſh Councils; it is not ſo where it concerns what they ſay of the right the Engliſh may have to attempt the *Indies*. Such amongſt them as are moſt reaſonable and leaſt ſcrupulous

lous freely confeſs, that by the law of nations, Countreys that have made no Treaty or Compact, may be aſſaulted by them that on other accounts are in peace with thoſe which appropriate them: So that the King of *Spain* having, in all Treaties he ever made with the Kings his neighbors, declared, that whoever goes to the *Indies*, either to ſettle or traffick, not being natural Spaniards, ſhall be uſed as enemies, cannot complain of ſuch acts of hoſtility, as are made by other nations, ſince himſelf hath choſen a perpetual State of war, owning neither friend nor ally beyond the Line, eſpecially in *America*.

To this purpoſe the anſwer of a great *Spaniſh* Miniſter is remarkable, rallying on two healths were drank to him, one to his Maſters Wife, the other to his Miſtreſs: *America* ſays he, is my Maſters wife, and the *Eaſt-Indies* his Miſtreſs, for the later he is not ſo jealous as to think himſelf concern-in honor, if any of his friends too freely careſs her; but his Wife he would keep chaſte and re-reſerved, without ſuffering any to court her. Queſtionleſs when he called *America* his Maſters Wife, he alluded to the Popes Bull, which gave him power and propriety in this intended Marriage; but it is generally ſaid that a Rape merits not ſuch a benediction, ſince he poſſeſſes *America* without either her own conſent, or that of her relations, *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Aſia*.

To ſpeak ſeriouſly, the Popes donation is a ridiculous title to thoſe that own not his Authority; beſides, that a great number of thoſe that

that do, believe not that it extends to things of this nature; ſo that if *Spain* have no other right than what is derived from *Rome*, ſhe is not well inveſted in the poſſeſſion of the new world, neither can they which diſpute it againſt her be accuſed of injuſtice, ſince ſome of them ſay they owe him no obedience, and others that he cannot diſpoſe of that which belongs not to him. Nothing then appropriates it to *Spain* but the firſt diſcovery, to have landed Colonies here and there, to have built Cities and Fortereſſes, ſubdued the *Barbarians*, and given names to Rivers and Havens: But all this cannot have acquired a poſſeſſion abſolutely general, and without exception; and ſince it made its ſeiſure by the law of ſuch things as are *Nullius & quæ fiunt primi occupantis*, it hath right to no more than it inhabits, cultivates, and hath entirely conquered. Any Nation may with juſtice take his part of the remainder, and (*Spain* going about to hinder) make uſe of force, and by force drive away him that hath ſettled himſelf only by force.

When *Philip* the ſecond fortified himſelf by the Popes Bull, for invading *England*, he added to that title the moſt conſiderable forces that had ever appeared on the Ocean: What is ſpiritual thus ſtands in need of what is temporal, one of them well ſeconding the other, without which admirable conjunction it is very hard to ſeiſe what belongs to others.

The *Spaniſh* Council ſpared neither wit nor induſtry, nor the wealth of the whole Kingdom for

for this redoubted Fleet, in which they neglected not to ſend fetters to enſlave the Inhabitants of *Great Britain*: but their Forces both ſpiritual and temporal had very ill ſucceſs, and that prodigious Navy which could hardly be compleated in two years, was loſt in two hours; part of it the ſea ſwallowed, and the reſt fell into the hands of thoſe it went to ſubdue, and of all that proud Armado, ſcarſe any eſcaped to carry the ſad news into their Country: by which it is very diſcernable that Heaven does not alwayes correſpond with the viſible Head of the Church. If he diſpoſes of what belongs to the *Indians*, becauſe Barbarians, one would think it ought to be reſtored as they become Chriſtians; but their Converſion is to little purpoſe as to recovery of their Country; and the *Spaniards* very exactly imitate Eccleſiaſticks in their acquiſitions, like ſo many diſmembrings of the Patrimonies of the Laity, from whom whatſoever is taken returns no more; and if they well keep what they have once laid hands on, they can as well cauſe themſelves to be obeyed. Their Empire is formidable, and he that doubts of this truth, may be convinced of it in their Cloyſters, where ſuch religious perſons as have neither dignity or parts to ſet them out, are rather Slaves than Brothers in Chriſt to the other. If within their walls they exerciſe ſo abſolute a power, on thoſe which are as it were their fellow priſoners, and make the ſame profeſſion, what will they not do to ſuch as are of a different condition, if they obtain the authority they deſire,

deſire, and which ſome of them know ſo well how to make advantage of under pretence of Religion and directing conſciences, without fear of puniſhment, forſaking the functions of legitimate Confeſſors, to creep into Families, and make themſelves arbitrators of their affairs and intereſts.

But to return to this Papal Donation, it is very clear, that this imaginary propriety of a world as yet not well known, and of which probably not ſo much is hitherto diſcovered as we are ignorant of, cannot, nor ought not to hinder other people from trafficking there, becauſe it belongs to the firſt finder, and that the *Spaniards* acquired thoſe parts of it they poſſeſs, without any conſent of other Nations to enjoy the propriety and ſoveraignty of the whole as heirs of it.

If then the *Engliſh* now attacque the *Spaniards* in the *Indies*, ſuch as are juſt acknowledge that this is not ſo much to begin as to continue a War, ſince they alwayes (more or leſs) moleſted them there, and that no formal Treaty concerning that Country was ever made with them. I have heard ſome very curious perſons examine what good or evil might by it accrue to either of theſe Potentates; and they hold that the *Spaniards* would be the firſt gainers, by an immediate ſeiſing all that belongs to the *Engliſh* in their Dominion. They would find conſiderable ſumms in the hands of Merchants of that Nation, as well at *Bilbo*, *Cadis*, and *Sevil*, as in many

ny other of their Port Towns, which might assist them towards the first charge of the War.

For we may remember that *England* hath for many years been possessed of all the Trade of *Spain*, *Hollanders*, during their War, and the *French*, since their breach, trafficking only by her interposal. So that the *Englisb* have establisht themselves very considerably, and possessed themselves of much wealth in a Country that abounds in money, and is poor in Commodities, and that cannot receive from its Neighbours what is necessary for it but by their hands.

We cannot oppose against this Confiscation of the goods of *Englisb* Merchants in all parts of the *Spanisb* Territories, the like to be done to the *Spaniards* in *England*; for as they never go abroad to serve any forrain Prince in his Wars, they have a Maxim for security of their Commerce, not to exercise it but in Countries where their King is Master. They go not therefore abroad how great soever their Trade be, but content themselves to deal at home with Merchants Strangers, who for want of correspondence are forced to settle amongst them, which they do the more willingly, because having to deal with people not very well understanding their Commodies they make the greater profit.

We see now the King of *Spain* without danger of a retaliation on his Subjects when he shall seise what belongs to those of *England*, inhabiting here and there in his Dominion: But this small and inconsiderable advantage, prejudicial only to private persons, is not to be compared

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to that the *Engliſh* will obtain, by cruiſing in both ſeas, and attacquing what ever is ſent to *Spain* from its Neighbours, without which it cannot without difficulty ſubſiſt. *Genoua*, *Naples*, *Amſterdam*, and *Antwerp*, whoſe Comerce with it is ſo great, will then be able to ſend little or nothing that ſhall not run hazard of falling into their hands; and if they ever make Conqueſts in *America*, or take the Plate-fleet (to which it ſeems they are forward enough) the *Thames* will be covered with the ſpoils of both worlds.

To all theſe conſiderations of particular loſs one of State is to be added, which is, that by a War with *England*, the vaſt and ſcattered body of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy will loſe its ligaments, and all communication with its remoter Members. France leaves her little liberty but by ſea, of which this potent Nation, that attributes to it ſelf the Empire of it will deprive her. It is true, ſome object that ſhift will be made to open a paſſage as was done in her War with *Holland*, but others obſerve great difference between thoſe powers, for beſides that *England* is ſo advantageouſly ſcituated, that it can without difficulty break all correſpondence between *Spain* and *Flanders*, the *Hollanders* Naval Power appeared not at its height, till the War was grown old, and the firſt animoſity decayed, where as now *Spain* will have to do with a Nation, that does not raiſe forces to fight, but fights to employ thoſe that are already raiſed. Beſides all which, the King of *Spain* was not then ſo drained of men and money, as at preſent, but could

could set out considerable Fleets to oppose the *Hollanders*, who making Traffick alone the end of their Navigation, rather sought for themselves free passage through all seas, then to deprive their enemies of Communication by them; and this so much, that though they have sometimes attempted the *Spanish* Fleets, and taken some of them, we may perceive they were not very greedy of such Conquests, because their own Merchants were concerned, and received almost as much prejudice as those of *Cadis* or *Sevil*. It is well known that at the same time their ships cruised up and down to interrupt the *Spanish* Traffick, their Merchants passed and repassed between *Flanders*, *Genoua*, and *Naples* in favour of it, and carried thither the secretest intelligence, and best ammunition, whereas in a War with *England* all will go in a more serious and real manner, and *Cromwell* little caring to advance his Nations Trade, will vigourously fall on, and aiming directly at Conquest of the *Indies*, endeavor every where to incommode *Spain* in order to it.

About this time two Books were published in *Madrid*, which clearly and ingenuously discovered the great exigencies of the State. This was admired by such as could not imagine a natural *Spaniard* would ever own its spirits spent, and it in a languishing condition. The Author of the first was one *Don Philippo Antonio Alosa*, a Knight of the Order of *Calatrava*, of the Kings Council, and his Secretary in the Council general of the Holy Inquisition. It contained

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an Exhortation to Eccleſiaſticks to ſupply the King by voluntary Contributions, in the ſo very preſſing neceſſity of his Kingdom; of which having firſt declared the Cauſes, which he derived from the time when *Philip* the Second engaged almoſt all his Revenues, for aiding the French League and building the Eſcurial, and repreſented how under *Philip* the Third his Son, occaſions of expence augmented, by reaſon of the Wars of *Italy* and *Flanders*, removal of the Court from *Valladolid* to *Madrid*, with his great Charges in entertaining the Princes of *Savoy*, and Reception of the Engliſh and French Ambaſſadors; and that which compleated the ruin of the State, and drew on it the extremeſt miſery, the raiſing the value of Copper Money, by which *Sajavedra* ſays more miſchief happened to *Spain*, than if all the Serpents and Monſters of *Africk* had attacked it: he makes out, that the preſent King at his Succeſſion received the Crown ſo poor, it was admirable there could be found wherewithal to reſiſt ſo many Enemies as at once proclaimed War againſt it; and concludes, that after the many ſhocks it hath ſuſtained, it will hardly any longer prove able to defend it ſelf, without recourſe to ſome ſudden ſupply, though it be uſeleſs to fancy New Impoſts, or augmentation of the old ones, there being a general incapacity in the ſubjects to pay what is already laid upon them. This pre-ſuppoſed, he continues that applications ought to be made to the Clergy only, who have ever kept their doors open to all manner of

acquisitions, and closely shut against the least alienation, and who with little or no expence possess the greatest wealth of the Kingdom, till a more learned Pen make evident, they may justly be compelled to contribute to the Kings urgent occasioas, he declares his design to be no more but to oblige them to a voluntary loane, which he shews will be to their advantage, because if the Kings necessities force him to pres the Laity with rigor, they will abandon Tillage and the Country, in such manner, that Ecclesiastical Rents, deduced only from the hands of the other by Tythes, and the like, will fail.

Going on he adds that such a liberality is more especially due to the most Catholick King, who aims only at the Churches good, and requires assistance for continuing the War only in order to an advantageous Peace, neither does he demand any thing that he first gave not, all of them having received their benefices and dignities from his Majesty as their Patron: That they need only spare part of their Plate, Jewels, and rich Moveables, abating something of their great Trains, entertained questionlesly by them, shew that grandeur, they will more handsomly make appear by assisting their King: afterwards he sayes that to give this greater efficacy, the King may please to make choice of one of his great Ministers of State, to whom the Clergy have some kind of obligation on account of their preferments, and from whom they may reasonably expect more, by his report to the King and Council of their forwardness and liberality:

rality: he adviſes farther, that addreſſes be not made to the Body or Convocation, but to particulars, and an exact regiſter kept of the willingeſt, which will on all occaſions be uſeful to them, towards acquiring greater favors. By this method, which is nothing elſe but a Collection of State, he ſuppoſes the King may amaſs a conſiderable ſum towards paying his Troops, that periſh for want, and re-eſtabliſhing his Affairs, which the ſame neceſſity hath ſo much diſordered.

The Second Book was a Memorial drawn up by a certain Captain called *Joſeph Puteol*, in which he repreſented to the King, that by eaſing his people he would be the better enabled to make War, *Como aſſiſtiendo à todos ſe pueda lograr el hazer mejor la Guerra.*

The Expedients he propounded, ſpoke him a man of parts to ſuch as knew him not, but in others prejudice, raiſed a contempt of his reaſons becauſe he was not in an eminent condition; as if the validity of a medicine depended on the quality of the Phyſitian, *& aliquando etiam Olitor commode poteſt eſſe locutus, &c.* but paſsing by theſe, I will here recount what the former look on as moſt judicious in his Book, which will alſo very much tend to the better underſtanding the condition in which I ſhall leave *Spain*. After particulars of all the Revenues his King draws from his Kingdoms of *Caſtille* and the *Indies*, (which in groſs amount to no more than Eighteen Millions of Gold, and of which *Philip* the Fourth when he came to the Crown found but

Eight Millions two hundred ſeventy four thouſand Crowns without incumbrances, which to ſupply his Wars againſt *France*, he was immediately neceſſitated to engage, and afterwards to alienate, (for reducing *Catalonia*, appeaſing the troubles of *Naples* and *Sicily*, defence of the Dutchy of *Millain*, recovery of *Portolongone* and *Piombino*, and many Towns in *Flanders*; beſides aſſiſting ſuch Princes as had ſided with him in the French revolutions:) he concludes a very exact and parcimonious œconomy for the future to be the only means of repleniſhing the Kings Coffers.

The wayes he propoſes for this, ſeem ſo many remarques of the former ill diſpenſation and adminiſtration of the Publick Treaſure.

In the firſt place he ſayes, That what is neceſſary to the ſubſiſtance of their Armies, fails of being ſupplied, not only by reaſon of the Engagement of the principal Revenues of the Crown to ſuch as have furniſhed the King in his neceſſities, but no leſs by the prodigious cheats of an infinite number of Officers employed towards their recovery; which gave the King juſt cauſe to complain to the *Cortes*, That of Ten Millions paid yearly by *Caſtille*, ſix ſtuck to the fingers of Under Treaſurers, Secretaries, Receivers, Tellers, and other Exchequer men, that ſubſiſt only by Rapines exerciſed on the King and his People.

Then he deſires that difference be made between Monopoliſts and Farmers of Cuſtoms, as well old as new, and that ſuch of them as have

have dealt franckly, without making malicious advantage of the neceſſity of affairs, may be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe that have thriven by craft and deſign, in purchaſing or renting the Kings Duties. With the firſt he holds it but reaſonable to make a fair compoſition, and afterwards that they be permitted the enjoyment of what they acquired with ſo great equity: the other he would have treated with all poſſible ſeverity, and compelled to refund with no leſs rigor than Sorcerers are burnt and Theeves hanged. For what concerns rewards, he allows it juſt to recompence all ſuch as have done the Crown ſervice, be its neceſſities never ſo great; but even for this he would not have the King draw any thing from his own Purſe, nor pretend to liberality at a time when he hath not wherewithal; he therefore adviſes (ſince high birth is not ever the ſource of eminent actions, neither do Children alwayes inherit the Prudence and Vertue of their Parents) not to continue in the ſame Families, 491 Commanderies, which the Eight Orders of Spaniſh Knighthood poſſeſs, worth above a Million of Gold yearly; but inſtead of beſtowing them out of favour for the moſt part to perſons unworthy and uſeleſs, hereafter to diſtribute them to ſuch as either have preſerved or extended the Limits of his Monarchy, or at leaſt by an Honourable Profeſſion of Arms are in a capacity to do it. And if he ever ſuffers any of them to be diverted from the advantage of Soldiers, to whom only they of right appertain, that it be to ſome able Stateſ-

man or Dextrous Ambaſſador, who without drawing Sword, hath ſaved ſome Town or Countrey, ſurprized an Enemy, broken in Pieces his Levies, cut off Ammunition and Victual from his Armies, drawn in Neighboring Princes to unite againſt him, obliged ſome of them to quit a Neutrality, ſuccored ſome Ally, or confirmed ſome other that wavered; in a word, to ſuch a perſon whoſe induſtry and prudence hath been highly advantageous to his King and Countrey. He no leſs complains, that inſtead of giving what is ſubſtantial in theſe Orders to Perſons of Merit, the very Badges of them, which are only ſuperficial, are for the moſt part refuſed. He inſtances in Mr *de St Maurice*, a Gentleman of *Burgundie*, who after very good ſervice, pretended ſeveral years without obtaining this, though Marquis *Caracene* writ in his favour, and atteſted his Valour and eminent Merit. This takes away his admiration, that in all the Troops that ſerve in the Dutchy of *Millain*, there are but Eight Knights that have this honour, the peculiar recompence of Soldiers, being frequently beſtowed on Pen-men, or ſuch as depend more on the Gown than Sword, though they wear the later, as a Mark of what they ought to be, rather than of what they really are. After this detection of abuſes in manageing his Kings Treaſure, he paſſes to the wayes of increaſing and better ſecuring it. Towards increaſing it, he would have taken into conſideration that *Spain* is inhabited by ſome perſons that are very rich, others indifferently ſo, the

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reſt very poor, which is the greateſt number, and that in raiſing Contributions neither of theſe three can be favoured, without prejudice not only of the other two, but of the Soveraign himſelf: Such a Geometrical proportion is therefore to be obſerved, as conſiders the means and faculties of each, and prevents that inconvenience in the State that often afflicts our Bodies, when all the ill humors fall on the part that is weakeſt. After ſo good a Foundation, he attacks thoſe that poſſeſs moſt and pay leaſt, and makes appear that the Spaniſh Clergy, being very wealthy, pays the King but Four hundred forty ſeven thouſand Crowns, a trifle compared to its ability, and concludes that an augmentation of the Kings Revenue might in ſo preſſing a neceſſity be charged on it with all juſtice and reaſon imaginable. He thinks it not fit to impoſe more on the Nobility and Gentry, who ought to be in a continual poſture to do the King perſonal ſervice, but upon Citizens and Farmers, and concealed Treaſure for the greateſt part in the hands of Perſons faulty or diſaffected, and that this might bring up a conſiderable aid, were the ſources of their abundance well examined. For ſuch Taxes as are ſettled ill, he ſays that which is impoſed on the Eighth part of Fleſh, Oil, and Wine, is the worſt of all others, giving occaſion to a thouſand cheats, as well by the Officers, as by ſuch as endeavour to bring thoſe proviſions into *Madrid* and other Towns without paying Duties. To which I can adde, that I have been aſſured, an infinite number live

only by that imployment, in ſo much that not only ſome poor Gentlemen and Ranting Hectors that will live on nothing, and without doing any thing, with whom Courts and great Cities ever abound, concern themſelves in it; but even Churchmen and the greateſt Noblemen, that are weakly revenued. For this cauſe Guards have been appointed to attend the Collection of theſe Impoſts, on condition that what they can ſeiſe of Goods that have entered without paying Duties, ſhall be their own. But this which was eſtabliſhed, to redouble their diligence, they have turned into ſmall Po'iticks, that cauſing them to conſider the Kings intereſt, if vigorouſly purſued, as that which would put an end to their profits, they are not very exact, perceiving that ſhould they not ſometimes connive, they which buſie themſelves in ſtealing Cuſtoms, would give over the Trade, finding no effect but Confiſcation of their Goods, after which the Kings Duties would be well paid, but they get nothing. They therefore correſpond with them, and ſeiſe not their Goods, till ſo much hath entered, as will make them more than ſavers. This Confederacy againſt the King, is maintained at his Charge, and drones ſuck the blood of the poor people, the effects of ſo great a diſorder falling on their heads. Amongſt other Impoſitions he thinks ill laid, and which I will not give my ſelf the trouble of reciting, he mentions Seal'd Paper, and ſays it is a very incertain Revenue, becauſe founded on Law Suits, to which the folly and obſtinacy of humane

humane nature alone gives being; it is true that in *England*, madder in this particular than *Spain* or any other part of the World, more profit might be derived from this, than in a Countrey where that infamous imployment is not so much in request; whereas in *England* it is exercised with such avarice, rapine, and so prodigious delays, that this horrible Pestilence which feeds it self fat by means of infinite numbers of vile Insects, Attorneys, Solicitors, Attorneys Lieutenants and Sub-solicitors, it must needs pass for one of the heavieſt scourges of the Nation, and plagues of its best Families.

To conclude, he implores his King to cast off all those ill designed Impositions, that will be destructive both to him and his Subjects, and to lay the burthen more equally, which will make it light, and his people bear it chearfully, when free from Vexations, that tend more to the advantage of Pettifoggers, than of his Revenue.

If what he proposes may be endeavored, he doubts not but his King will vanquish all his Enemies, there being already so many Victories that testifie his Valour, and so many Books that publish his Prudence, besides so much Gold and Silver stamped with his Effigies, currant thorow the World, though *Spain* admits none that is Foreign; an invincible demonstration of its inexhaustible Treasure.

Whilst these two Books were Subjects of our Discourse, by reason of their surprizing Novelty, the Genius of that Nation considered, which sel-

ſeldom diſcovers where the Shoo wrings it, and whoſe conſtancy is ſo admirable, it alwayes ſets a good face on an ill game; we received Letters for ſome of the Principal Miniſters of the Catholick King: had they come to us at our firſt arrival at *Madrid*, they would have introduced us to a nearer ſpeculation of that Court, but arriving in *June*, and we being reſolved, for avoiding the great heats, to repaſs the *Pyreneans* before they began, we had but little time to continue in a Countrey, where the Sun is ſomething too prodigal of his beams. To make uſe therefore of all advantages poſſible, and that according to Formalities, which are here eſſential, I addreſſed my ſelf to Don *Martin* Secretary of the Earl of *Pigneranda*, deſiring him to give his Lord the Letter of Recommendation we had for him. I acquainted him with the qualities of my Lord *B.* and *A.* and inquired at what hour we might have acceſs, leaſt we ſhould apply our ſelves to him when he gave not Audience. Such precautions are neceſſarily to be obſerved in this Court, by all Strangers, who without any to introduce them, deſire to be particularly admitted to a Principal Miniſter of State: by means of which they eſcape being expoſed to that dry gravity which receives Strangers with a leaden auſtere Fore head, cloſe and reſerved, all ſuch whom they apprehend they may miſtake in its Civilities, for want of knowledge of their quality; beſides that, generally ſpeaking, ſuch as underſtand the World, ought never themſelves to deliver ſuch Letters, which ſerve only to make them known to thoſe they

they never ſaw before; for if they be read in their preſence, they ſuffer ſome time of vexatious incivility, and if the reading them be deferred till after their departure; at the firſt Viſit they have but a cold Reception, the Complements faint and confuſed, directed more to him that ſent the Letter, then to thoſe that bring it, and for whoſe ſake it was written. This we avoided, for the Earl having been informed, as well by the Letter of Dom *Eſtevan de Gamarra*, as report of his Secretary, who we were, received us as well as we could wiſh: And to ſpeak truth of him, none in this Court underſtands Civility and the World better. His firſt preſenting himſelf is graceful and winning, and makes appear, that with the ſeverity of his Countries Cuſtoms and imperious gravity of his Nation, he hath mixed a certain forain air, that takes off from the auſterity, and makes him ſo agreeable, that if the Addreſs and Gallantry of the firſt of the *Tarquins* cauſed it to be ſaid, *Græcum ingenium miſcuerat Italicis artibus*, he had added the Complacency of *Greece* to the Arts of *Italy*. We may conclude that thoſe of this great man make evident, *Hiſpanicum ſupercilium poteſt moribus exteris & comitate exotica dilui*. That Spaniſh ſeverity may be moderated by forain Civility. His Wit and Judgement appeared in his Embaſſy as Plenipotentiary to *Munſter*; and when News came to *Madrid* of the promotion of Cardinal *Chigi* to the Pontifical Chair, and the great deſire he expreſſed for Peace between *France* and *Spain*, this man was ſpoken of

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to be ſent to *Rome* with the Embaſſy of Obedience: though indeed he was chiefly deſigned to that Employment, becauſe it was hoped that by reaſon of the great friendſhip he had contracted with the new Pope when he was *Nuncio* in *Germany*, he might do his Maſter good ſervice in all manner of Negotiations. Many advantages are alſo reported to have been offered on behalf of the King to obſige him to accept this, beſides a conſiderable ſum of ready money, particularly Three thouſand Ducats a Moneth, his Son to be made an Earl, and himſelf continued Preſident of the Council of the *Indies*, and that the Golden Key he carried only as a Badge of Honour, ſhould be conferred *à Exercicio*, that is to be made uſe of, with all Priviledges belonging to it: but nothing of this is yet effected, and they which underſtand the confidence of Don *Lewis de Haro* in his fidelity and capacity, aſſure he will not remove him from the Council where he is now Preſident, till needs muſt. Having thus received all manner of ſatisfaction in our firſt Viſit, to ſo accompliſhed a Perſon, who omitted nothing that might aſſure my Lord *B.* of the eſteem he had for his quality and merit, at the very firſt ſight remarkable to him by that vivacity which is ſo natural to Extraordinary Perſons, they need not ſpeak twice to thoſe to whom they would make themſelves known: We thought our ſelves very forward on our way, to obtain the like from Don *Lewis de Haro*, when we ſhould wait on him: For beſides the Letter we had

had for him, we doubted not but the Earl would acquaint him with the Visit we had made him, and with all that could oblige him to receive us well. Besides our Letter for Don *Lewis de Haro*, we had another for a Gentleman called *Alonzo Vercoca*, Cosin to Dom *Stephen de Gamarra* the Catholick Kings Ambassador in *Holland*, who, we were assured was very well with this Favorite. We therefore thought best first of all to visit Seignior *Alonzo*, that he might deliver our Letter, and present us when it should be seasonable. We were not a little troubled in inquiring after his Loding, but at last learned that he was usually resident in the Countrey, and only a Son of his who was one of Don *Lewis de Haro*'s Gentleman lived in *Madrid*. Enquiring for him at the Palace of this Chief Minister, I was told he had a Chamber in the Town, and came not thither whilest his Master was with the King at *Buen Retiro*; the Civility of the Officers of whom I enquired his Lodging, extended not so far as to send some body to shew it me, and he being seldom at home, I was either to seek him very early in the Morning or late in the Evening. At last I found him just out of Bed, no less troubled how to enquire after us, because he had received a Letter from the Ambassador to his Father, by which he reiterated his request for doing us all manner of good Offices in that Court. Some dayes passed, in which he neither visited us nor returned any answer. This made me imagine that either he did not much value the Ambassadors Letter, or else had

had not ſufficient acceſs to his Maſter to perform what was recommended to him.

As ſoon as we thought of leaving *Spain*, I began to conſider how we might obtain an authentick paſsport, being ſufficiently informed of the inſolence and impudence on the paſſes called *Puertos*, as well by the Farmers of the Cuſtoms as ſuch as are there in guard. On which account many formalities are neceſſary to be obſerved in the Paſſes, that they may be effectual enough to check the importunity and knavery of thoſe Harpies that lie in expectation of travailers, eſpecially ſtrangers, to put all imaginable affronts upon them.

I made very ſolicitous enquiry of all circumſpections neceſſary, and the Earl of *Pigneranda* having told my Lord *B.* that not to leave *Spain* without carrying along one of its greateſt rarities, he ſhould do well to take ſome horſes; to which purpoſe he would provide him all ſufficient paſsports; we did not in the leaſt diſtruſt, obtaining them as advantagious as we could wiſh: they which have no friends in Court, are obliged to petition a certain Council, whoſe Secretary is called *Carnero*: the petition conſidered on, if the Paſs be granted, the Reſult goes from thence to the Kings Council, from whence it is returned ſometimes confirmed, ſometimes annulled, and often limited or amplified, according to the petitioners ſucceſs in his ſolicitations. Indeed, though either by favour or bribe, authentick Paſsports are ſometimes obtained, and that without delay; ſuch as are unknown

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and unfriended, find this trifle become a troubleſome and tedious negotiation. Ours was not ſo, for having drawn up a very exact memorial, and according to the ſenſe of thoſe that underſtand the form of a Paſsport, to go out of *Spain* without lett or moleſtations: I carried it to Don *Martin*, the Earl of *Pigueranda*'s Secretary: he read it, and told me ſo many particulars were not neceſſary; and that our Paſsport being to come immediately from the Kings Council, there needed no more but to tranſlate into Spaniſh, that we had brought from the Arch-Duke; the like whereof, which would be every where reſpected, ſhould be diſpatched us; I acquieſced in this, and went with him to *Geronimo de la Torre*, one of the Secretaries of State, to whom he delivered a Memorial for the ſaid Paſsport, recommending it to him in the name of his Maſter; he promiſed to carry it to the Council of State that very day, uſing us with great civility, and accompanying us to the bottom of his ſtairs.

Our Paſsport being in this forwardneſs, Mr. *B.* and I, went one morning to viſit Segnior *Verſoſa*, by it the better to underſtand the nations humour, and whether negligence or want of credit had cauſed his failing in what the Ambaſſador deſired of him: he inſtantly excuſed his not having waited on us, and told us he had delivered the Letter to Don *Lewis de Haro*, who had commanded him to accompany us to Audience (ſuch is the manner of ſpeaking in this Court) which he would give us the next day.

This

This diſcovered that his ſlowneſs in returning us anſwer, was rather an effect of the humor of his nation, (not very punctual nor forward in its civilities, no more then in its affairs) then of his negligence or little power to perform what had bin recommended to him; being a kin to the Secretary *Geronimo de la Torre*, who had received our Memorial, he would needs go along with us to him, and recommend it in our preſence; but I was ſtrangely ſurprized to ſee this man in this viſit we made in company of his kinſman, ſo different from what I had before found him; for inſtead of our former civil reception of which I ſpoke but now, he would ſcarcely move from his Table and Papers, entertaining us with interrupted ſentences, whilſt he ranged the writings he held in his hand. I was ſcandalized at ſuch an inequality, and the favourableſt judgement I could make, was (whilſt I conſidered him to be of that nation which is eſteemed ſo unvariable in its humor and actions) that his thoughts were that day entirely poſſeſſed by ſomething very important and vexatious. This prevented not our repairing next morning according to our appointment to viſit the chief Miniſter of ſo ſuperbe a Court. He is not difficult of acceſs, nor environed with the pomp and ſplendor uſually affected by ſuch as poſſeſs the place next their Maſter: he is not courted, nor his withdrawing room crouded with any that have not buſineſs with him; none are refuſed admittance, but every man in his turn brought into his chamber, where having ſpo-

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ken, he retires and gives place to others. To ſuch as are not admitted, if they have formerly moved him in their concerns, he ſignifies his pleaſure by his Secretary, which (if they have nothing new to offer) muſt of force content them; ſuch as have never opened their affair, or have any thing to add, are referred to the next day or another hour: ſo that few go away without ſome kind of ſatisfaction or hopes to receive it, at leaſt, in obtaining Audience. In other places, Favourites or chief Miniſters ſeldom are acceſſible, and never till after many refuſals; and not content to participate of the Soveraigns authority, pretend to a degree of adoration above it: and we may aſſure our ſelves, that though this quality occaſions in moſt of theſe, pride, vanity, and pleaſure; it gives Don *Lewis* (as he makes uſe of it) trouble alone, and that amongſt all that are in publick employment he is not only firſt in rank, but in attachment and ſubjection to the ſervice of his King; to which, to ſpeak the truth, he intirely reſigns himſelf: for in the morning immediately after his devotions, and viſit of the Kings apartment, about Seven a clock he ſits down in his chamber of diſpatches, where he continues till one; giving order to his Secretaries in all that is to be done, and hearing ſuch as are to ſpeak with him, preented by order as hath already bin ſaid: after dinſner he repoſes, or retires ſome hours; and about four or five, returns to the ſame chamber, and like imployment till ſeven. Two days in the week he, as well as the King, gives publick Au-

dience; then all enter, and I have ſeen there of all qualities, even lame and naked ſoldiers, who amongſt others preſent themſelves and pretences, without any other difference, then obliging them to advance with diſcretion and reſpect, if perhaps they obſerve it not.

To all this is to be added, his care of the Court, he being Maſter of the Horſe, with his hours at both Councils of State and Privy, beſides Audiences of ceremony, and affairs of Ambaſſadors, and Agents of forreign Princes; ſo that I can imagine no life more agitated nor buſied then his. I ſhall ſay nothing of his parts, which the Spaniards hold not equal to thoſe of his predeceſſor; the other having bin quick and active in the moſt eminent degree; but they add that they were not therefore more ſucceſful, either in publick or particular; and that the great moderation and good nature of this man, is equivalent to the heat and zeal of the former, who to attain his ends, ſuffered none to enjoy quiet: ſo true is that of the Politians, that the greateſt intellects are not moſt proper to govern States and Kingdoms; and that they look ſo far before them, they often ſtumble in ſuch a manner as caſts them into extremities, from whence all their dexterity hath much ado to free them, and the height of their good fortune to ſecure them from ruine; whereas the middle ſort by moving ſoftly are not ſubject to thoſe politick tranſports, which often toſs intereſt of State into the air with the ſublimeſt maximes of him that governs.

As

As ſoon as we came to *Don Lewis* his lodging, which was then at the Hermitage of *Buen retiro*, we were received by Don *Chriſtopher* his Secretary. He is a little man, of addreſs and ſubtilty beyond what is uſual in his nation, being a German, of which Countrey he hath ſo little the meen and preſence, one would rather take him to have been born at the foot of the *Apennine* or *Pyreneans*, then on the banks of *Rhine* or *Dannbe*. He takes care of all forreign affairs, and ſerves his maſter as interpreter; we were immediately preſented to him, and thus he received us: He ſate in a Chair at the end of a Table, with his Cloak on his ſhoulders, and his ſword by his ſide; he roſe up at our entrance, and after we had ſaluted him, cauſed ſeats to be preſented us; and immediately Don *Chriſtopher* placed himſelf on his knees, on the Carpet that was between his Chair, and that of my Lord *B.* who having ſpoken, Don *Lewis* anſwered by interpretation of Don *Chriſtopher*, as obligingly as was poſſible. After the firſt compliments, he enquired after our journey, and continuance at *Madrid*, and finding us inclined to leave it, asked, if we would not paſs by *Sevil*; and we excuſing our ſelves, by reaſon the Summer was ſo far advanced; he replyed, our time indeed preſſed us, if we deſired to be out of *Spain* before the great heats; but not viſiting *Andaluſia*, we loſt the ſight of the pleaſanteſt Countrey in the world; he afterwards made us many offers of ſervice, and when we acquainted him that we deſired to paſs through *Arragon*, and, if poſ-

ſible, enter *France* by *Catalonia*; he promiſed us two Letters of recommendation; one to the Duke of *Monteleon*, Viceroy of *Arragon*, the other for Don *John* of *Auſtria*. He asked us if we would kiſs the Kings hands; but our time for leaving the Countrey being ſo near, we thought it unneceſſary to give him the trouble of obtaining that honour for us, having ſo often ſeen his Majeſty. In a word, he omitted nothing that was obliging, or might render our viſit ſatisfactory; he is indeed of a humour to diſcontent no body, and never favorite did leſs hurt: he ſuffers to live at Court, not only ſuch as envy him, but his profeſſed enemies, as the Duke *de Medina de los Torres*, and goes abroad with ſo ſmall pomp, that his Train little or nothing exceeds the meaneſt Grand of *Spain*: he is not crouded after, but obſerved to follow much better then his predeceſſor, the advice of a favourite of the ſame nation, who after his fall admoniſhed all of the like condition, themſelves to put a ſpoke in the wheel of fortune, when by too great an elevation ſhe almoſt equalized them to the King, adding, that he which thinks himſelf advanced higheſt, is often neareſt his ruine, and therefore ought never to be tranſported to receive ſuch honours and attendances, as his fall cannot deprive him of, without ſhame; on occaſion of which I muſt needs mention, what was reported to me to have been ſpoken by a great Stateſman of this Court: *That a Favorite ought to have the moderation and prudence of that Angel before whom St* John *proſtrated himſelf*

ſelf with adoration, and refuſe ſome kind of reſpects that may be rendred him with a *Vide ne feceris, conſervus tuus ſum:* for if God in that immenſity of glory and power he poſſeſſes to reduce the univerſe to nothing, admits no companion in his adorations: Kings whoſe Authority is limited, and whoſe Might only weakly imitates that which is infinite, will much leſs endure it. Such boundleſs ambition, and exceſſive thirſt of grandeur, in two years time ſtrangely ſhook Cardinal *Spinola,* one of the greateſt Favorites of *Philip* the II. and at laſt overthrew that famous Conde Duke *Olivares,* whoſe place is at preſent poſſeſſed by Don *Lewis.*

Beſides what I have touched concerning his Miniſtry, the curious find a conſiderable difference between the favors of the Uncle and Nephew, as well in the foundation as managements of them; they conſider that of the former was derived from his conformity of manners (real or affected) with thoſe of his King; and from the care he took to ſecond his inclinations, and make himſelf a neceſſary inſtrument of his ſatisfaction in pleaſures, perhaps contrary to his greatneſs and condition: but that of the ſecond had its ſource from the Kings obligations to him, for ſervices rendred him in encounters where his Life and Crown were concerned: that the firſt had his good will and affection, which are but as bloſſoms that a thouſand accidents blow away, whilſt the other is eſtabliſhed in the intellect, having been fixed there by experience, the true and only root of

favour, proof againſt time and humor; that the firſt arrived at ſo eminent a degree almoſt at the ſame time and the ſame manner as the Duke of *Luines* roſe near *Lewis* the XIII of *France*, and the later by a way very like that aſcended by Cardinal *Richlieu*: the Nephew had time to make uſe of the faults and misfortunes of the Uncle, as well as the Cardinal of the failings of his Predeceſſor. But for what concerns the exerciſe of his authority, they obſerve it is very different from the other three. The Duke *de Luines*, and the Conde Duke *Olivares* diſturbed the quiet of their Maſters Dominions; the firſt, that he might make uſe of the ſword of Conſtable he had newly received, and the other to make oſtentation of the vaſt capacity he pretended to above all mankind. *Richlieu*, who ſucceeded the firſt of theſe, though with very different maximes, thought nevertheleſs he was to continue the war he found begun, to gain him reputation, and remove all obſtacles that might prevent ſuch a one as was more the intereſt of *France*, and would give him opportunity of entring the Liſts with that ambitious Conde Duke. Don *Lewis* was no ſooner in favour, and entred on buſineſs, but he endeavoured to make underſtood, that the whole world and eſpecially the houſe of *Auſtria*, ſuffered by emulation of thoſe two Miniſters. He well foreſaw (the condition of the Spaniſh Monarchy, attacqued in Trunck and Branch, conſidered) that a peace, (the leaſt diſhonourable that could be obtained) was neceſſary to prevent final de

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ſtruction. It is ſaid, he effectually repreſented to the King and his Council the faults of his predeceſſor, and made it appear, that the univerſal deſire of all the leſſer Potentates of *Europe*, who wiſh equality amongſt the greateſt, as ballances where evey one may find his counterpoiſe, is very ſuitable both to the inclinations and intereſts of *France* and *Spain*, though not often ſo to the ambition of their Kings, and vanity of the Miniſters that ſerve them; and that which ſoever of them gains upon the other, would acquire moſt enemies, were not *Europe* by artifice of their Favorites (who ſet their Maſters together by the ears to make oſtentation of their own addreſs during the combat, as Pilots their skill in the height of a tempeſt) divided into Leagues, and almoſt all of it in arms in favor of one or other of theſe Crowns. that whilſt war continued, the allies of *France* would never forſake her to become Neuters, or turn their ſwords againſt her, but that in the mean time the dangers into which they precipitated themſelves, were to be repreſented to them, with a great inclination to peace, even ſo far, as to purchaſe it at what price ſoever. That experience in all ages had made evident, they recovered by Treaties what they had loſt that by wars. That in *Germany* even they were to be incited to cry up peace, that were confederates with *France* and *Sweden*, to oblige them to which, they ſhould have intimation, that nothing was taken into greater conſideration, then their ſatisfaction; and that it was high time to divert

the jealousie of their liberty against two forraign Potenthtes, more ready to invade it, then ever the Emperor was to impose fetters upon it. That in *Italy*, *Flanders*, and all other parts where there were Leagues against *France*, the like was to be done; and at the general Treaty of peace, all desirable conditions given to their weakest enemies, to enfeeble the more potent by depriving them of the others assistance. Thus the beginning of his Ministry, (if what hath been informed me, and I have here represented be true) was not to cry up war in his Masters ears, out of consideration only, of what might augment his own power, as is done by such Epicures of favor as turn it to their particular advantage: He would neither seem idolatrous in his politicks, by giving no council but such as was to his Masters advantage; nor Atheistical in valuing nothing but the good of the people, but with respect to both of them, shewed himself a good Statesman, dealing with them like Husband and Wife, and concluding that for their living happily together, they should admit no friend that might separate their interests. I had bin made acquainted with some of these particulars before I visited Don *Lewis*, and could set down more, were not a great part of the remarques as well effaced from my Tablebook, as vanished from my memory: if it be expected, I say something of his person; I must add, it is sufficiently taking, and that I was told, his wit was neither of the finest or grossest temper, not extravagantly high, nor insipidly low; his countenance

tenance neither very airy nor exceſſively ſerious. Nothing can be diſcovered in his eyes, either too heavy or too light, his make and poſture of body is neither eminently heroick nor contemptibly vulgar, *Ut ſtaturæ & oris non eſt plus quam Heroici, ita nihil in eo quod nimium vulgare ſit.* And he is looked upon to be no ways incommodious, either to Prince or People; and as he charms not the firſt by extraordinary endowments either of mind or body; neither does he diſguſt the later. And a Spaniard one day told me, *En el ſemblante miſmo eſte privado no enfada por lo atrevido, in deſluce por lo diſanimado* : to which I will give no other Engliſh, but, the meen of this favorite is neither inſolent nor abject.

The great revolutions in the affairs of this Monarchy ſince Don *Lewis* had the managing of them, preſent me a vaſt field to expatiate on what ſeems vigorous or weak in his conduct; for ſome particulars are obſervable, in which, nothing more could be wiſhed then what he did, and others as diſcernable, in which he ſeems not to have made uſe of all advantages that preſented themſelves. The peace concluded at *Munſter* with the Hollanders, is thought a maſterpiece, they having received as an eternal maxime, never to have it with his King; and the miracle became greater, not only in that he diſarmed them by a particular Treaty, under no other garranty, but that Seal and Oath they had ſo many years proteſted never to confide in; but made uſe of the family of *Orange*, which

which seeming no other ways concerned in the affairs of the world, then in producing it great Captains, could not act towards that peace, without setting a knife at the throat of its own glory and reputation.

After so politick an atchievment, he might have effected another little less considerable, if we may credit such as determine the affairs of Princes, according to their particular capacities, had he (during the troubles of *France*) endeavoured a peace with that Crown, which in such an extremity must needs have accepted it, on conditions, more advantagious to *Spain*, then the Towns retaken by it, because giving way to her intestine commotions, by removing the forraign object that might divert her dissentions and civil enmities, her fury would have rebounded on her own bosom, and she like a good Mother have abandoned the greatest part of her conquests, to gain more leisure and better opportunity to chastise her disobedient children: here it is that considering affairs by their event, and seeing *France* again in as good a way as ever to pursue her victories, the Spanish Councils are blamed for neglecting that opportunity of putting such a stop to them, as should have prevented their progression. Instead therefore of Treaties with the City of *Paris*, siders with the Princes, and the Princes themselves, it is said, *Spain* ought to have negotiated with the Court alone, from which, as is believed, it might have had good terms for abandoning the seditious, and their endeavors to encourage the rebellion,

bellion, in which interim, the Catholick King might probably have ſucceeded beyond the Pyreneans, in reducing the Catalonians, and recovering *Portugal*, much more conſiderable to him, becauſe very certain, that the revolt of the former, and ſeparation of the later, are the greateſt miſchiefs, that have attacqued that Monarchy during the whole war; for remedy of which, it ſhould have neglected ſome ſlight bruiſes in other places, and applyed it ſelf only to the cure of thoſe two wounds ſo near its heart. The ways of doing this, had bin more eaſie, more ſafe, and of leſs expence then thoſe which recovered *Barcelone*; they which examined the affairs of that time, were of opinion that the Spaniards loſt more by retaking that Town, and neglecting to relieve *Bourdeaux*, then they would have done by ſome condiſcentions to *France* in order to peace. For it was freely diſcourſed in that Court, that the ſiege of *Barcellone* coſt ſo dear both in men and money, that ſo great a failing of ſpirits followed, that all the repoſe obtained by the French diſorders, was not ſufficient to their reſtoration, and that neglecting to relieve *Bourdeaux*, gave the French opportunity of freeing themſelves from the difficulties of appeaſing their civil war, and almoſt at the ſame time of re-beginning an offenſive one againſt the forraigners with vigor equal to their former. In the judgement therefore of theſe criticks, the Spaniards could neither make all the progreſſions, might have been expected from them in ſuch a conjuncture, notwithſtanding

ſtanding their recovering three or four of the principal places they had loſt, nor embrace the opportunity of the peace, to which *France* ſeemed neceſſitated, nor yet ſupply the flames of civil diſcord already ſo well kindled, but after ſo great charge and ſmall profit, they looked on them as negligent Merchants that had let ſlip the beſt time of the Fair, and perhaps brought but one commodity from it, that will never ſell for what was laid down in ready Money, and is hereafter to be paid for it: I mean the Prince of *Conde* and reſt of the French that are at preſent only a charge to them, and whom deceaſed *Quevedo*, were he now alive, would joyn to the late Queen Mother of *France* and Duke of—— for that new kind of ſtratagem by which the King of *France* may batter by diſguſting all his family, who repairing in diſcontent to the Spaniard, will oblige him in aſſiſting them to conſume that which is deſigned to maintain his Armies. Now the Prince of *Conde* is retired to them, and hath no more places nor Troops in *France*, they ſeem to underſtand this, and notwithſtanding the miracles he did at the rout before *Arras*, and on occaſion of which it is reported, the King writ to him in theſe terms. *Mi primo, he intendido todo eſtava pardido*, V. A. *ha conſervado todo*; Coſin, I looked on all as loſt, your Highneſs hath preſerved all; they complain of the large penſions they allow him, though they pay them ill. In a word, ſome obſerve, that whilſt they conſume their Treaſure in entertaining him, and ſuch as have followed him, the profit of thoſe great penſions accrues

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to *France*, as well as the confiſcation of his vaſt eſtate, by means of which ſhe may well ſupport the loſs of ſome Regiments to the weakening her own and ſtrengthening her enemies Army. Their eſteem for his perſon is indeed equal to his merit, and his name is in ſuch veneration both amongſt Nobility and People, that he is looked on as the greateſt Captain that Europe hath ſeen in many ages, and to be above all encomiums due to the higheſt courages; his actions ſurpaſſing all that can be imagined; notwithſtanding which they conſider him to be a ſtranger, and Prince of the blood of a Crown that is enemy, which makes the eſtabliſhment of an entire confidence between him and *Spain*, very difficult, but to prevent all appearance of ſuch diſtruſts, which they have much ado to diſguiſe, they have made uſe of an artifice, that hath been well enough diſcovered by his Agents; which is, that ſuch of them as cannot be concealed, are imputed to the miſunderſtanding between him and *Fuenſaldaigne*, Maſter of the intrigue of *Flanders*, whilſt to content him, they find expedients that rather amuſe then ſatisfy him; to take away which the Prince hath declared againſt *Fuenſaldaigne*, and cauſed his calling home to be ſollicited in Court, with proteſtation, that as long as he continues in the *Low Countreys*, with the preſent power, he will not only ruine his affairs, but the Kings his Maſters.

Monſieur *de Mazecolles* his Agent told me, he had made them ſufficiently ſenſible of all the miſchiefs occaſioned by this mans conduct, but the

the kindneſs *Don Lewis* hath for him, prevails againſt any remedy. That the Arch-duke had given the ſame advice, all which could not prevent their obſtinacy in continuing him, grounded perhaps on this Maxim, which requires (as well in Kingdoms as Families) to nouriſh diſſention amongſt thoſe which ſerve, leſt they conſpire to betray us, or are not exact enough in obſerving the comportments of one another, nothing being ſo induſtrious or penetrating, as envy and animoſity, which prie not only into what the Maſter would not be ignorant of, but into ſuch things of which he cares not for getting information.

In the mean time let politick Cenſors, who often judge of counſels and reſolutions, rather by the events, and what is diſcernable, than the inductive reaſons of which they are ignorant, pleaſe themſelves in diſcourſing according to their fancies of this great intrigue of State, the effect of the *French* troubles: they ſhall not yet hinder my obſerving, that in conſideration of ſeveral ſucceſſes cauſed by them, as well in *Germany*, where a King of *Romans* was choſen, as in *Italy*, where the affairs of the Dutchy of *Milan* were ſecured, *Caſal* changed Maſter, *Piombino*, and *Portolongone* were retaken, the Rebellion of *Naples* ſeverely puniſhed, and that furious Courſer reduced to curb and caviſon, the *Spaniards* are generally pretty well ſatisfied, with little other diſpleaſure than that by not ſuccouring *Bourdeaux*, they ſuffered the *French* civil flames to be too ſoon extinguiſhed; ſo that they

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cannot without indignation mention the negligence of the Marquis of *St. Cruz*, when he endeavoured with the Fleet under his command, that had been fitted up at *St. Sebaſtians*, to open the paſſage of the River to the beſieged. He was encharged with this employment, becauſe not having comported himſelf ſatisfactorily in one like it, it was believed he would ſtrive to make amends by ſome very eminent action in ſo preſſing a neceſſity: but he failed even at his firſt ſetting out; for having received his orders at *Madrid*, where the Earl of *Fieſque* arrived to haſten him, he went away in a Litter, with all the conveniencies of one that had time enough before him, and as if he had not had a Commiſſion that required the moſt extraordinary diligence. His delays were the ſame in embarking, and having ſhewn himſelf at ſea, and ſcarcely taken view of the Enemy, he retreated to *la Corugna* in *Gallicia*, where amongſt the delightfull Limon and Orange-trees, that grow there abundantly, he let the bad weather paſs over, and with it the opportunity of ſecuring *Bourdeaux*, whoſe loſs was the intire ruine of the diſaffected party in *Gaſconie*, and of the Treaty of the Prince of *Conti*. His manner of proceeding aſtoniſhed all that were concerned, though ſome ſuſpected his orders required no more but to make a ſhew of relieving the place; whether it were that the *Spaniards* would hazard nothing in a War that could not laſt long in that part, or whether there were an underſtanding (according to the ravings of ſuch as on all occaſions

ſions vent their imaginations) by the return of *Bourdeaux* to its Kings obedience, to obtain the like for *Barcelona*. Whatever may be of this, he was ſecured and confined to a Caſtle where he ſtill remains, as is thought, more on accompt of reaſon of State then of his guilt.

To conclude, the French troubles preſented great ſpeculations to the chief Miniſter and other Wits here, how far they ought to concern themſelves in them: but thoſe of *Naples* which happened a little before, and which the King of *Spain* beheld as a fire kindled in a corner of his Dominion, he moſt valued, and diſtruſted were no leſs ſubjects of the diſcourſe of ſuch as had curioſity for the affairs of either Crown. All agree that *France* drew not ſo great advantages from them as ſhe might have done, had ſhe more ſtreightly embraced the *Neopolitan* intereſts, and ſuch as have diſcourſed with me about it, have made it evident, that *Spain* in no occaſion ever judged more ſolidly, or acted more effectually. At the firſt advice of that revolution ſhe was not deceived in taking her meaſures, and the Earl of *Ognate* giving his ſenſe of it, made the miſchief and its remedy ſo intelligible, that he was employed to adminiſter the later. I ſaw an Extract of his Letter, which repreſented that the fury of that people could not laſt, having at firſt declared open war againſt the Nobility and all that were powerful. That ſuch commotions (the better part of the State being contrary to them) bring forth only confuſion and diſorder, without any poſſibility

lity of erecting a true form of Government, which muſt be done (if at all) in a moment, and that a multitude that had neither feet nor wings proportionable to mounting ſo high muſt neceſſarily fall of it ſelf, being imprudent in its Councils, raſh in its Deſignes, and ſlow and timerous in its Executions. That the people of *Naples* went very aukwardly about forming themthemſelves into a Republick, beginning by deſolation of the richeſt Families, which could not be ſo totally ruined, but they would retain power to joyn with the offended Prince in the publick revenge; and that that which would be impoſed on this enraged Multitude would be the more advantageous, in that it would give opportunity of drawing the reins of Government ſtreighter, and binding them ſo faſt, that notwithſtanding their former ſeveral bloodlettings, a vein ſhould then be opened, by which ſhould be drawn the greateſt part even of that which was beſt, provided all that was corrupted came away with it. His council was followed, and his hand employed in the Execution; whileſt he doubtleſly played the part of an able Surgeon, the whole body of the Rebels ſuffering his lancet, and the Ringleaders his Saw and Raſor. All the world is witneſs of his admirable conduct in ſo dangerous a Malady. I ſhall only add that he is looked on here as the ableſt and zealouſeſt Polititian of *Spain*; and it is not doubted but if he had employment ſuitable to his wiſhes, he would add ſomething of vigor that in ſeveral mens opinions is wanting. But his parts being

apprehended he is kept at the greateſt diſtance poſſible from the intrigue; and ſetting aſide what he muſt neceſſarily be made acquainted with by reaſon of his employments, little is communicated to him. He therefore paſſes his time in building, and employing part of the great treaſure he amaſſed in *Naples*, on a Palace that will be one of the faireſt and vaſteſt of *Madrid*.

Among the great affairs and eminent negotiations of *Don Lewis*, was one from the North, whoſe intereſt was at firſt well enough underſtood: for none admired that *Spain* kept an Ambaſſador at *Stockholm* for facilitating the Election of the Son of the Emperor to be King of *Romans*. The *Swedes* were judged to have great credit in the Empire, and known to have too long oppoſed the Houſe of *Auſtria*, to look well on its elevations; a man of parts might ſound their intentions, diſcover their deſignes, and by dexterity allay their greateſt animoſity againſt the Emperor, if not obtain ſomething really favourable in his behalf. *Piementelli*, choſen for this imployment, had ſucceſs beyond what was expected, quickly poſſeſſing himſelf of the good opinion of that Queen, ever charmed by novelty; for amongſt the great affluence of ſtrangers ſhe drew to her Court, the laſt comer ſtill carried it from all the reſt. She was ſo much pleaſed in a *Spaniard*, having never yet received any reſpects from that Nation, that it was not difficult for him to make himſelf acceptable without taking pains to corrupt any of her Council. Such as underſtood how matters paſſed in *Swede*

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were not ſupriſed at her letters during the Diet of *Ratisbone*, as well to the Emperor, as to the Electors and other Princes about election of a King of *Romans*. They eaſily perceived that the Counſellors of the Kingdom and ableſt heads had not contributed to ſo open and authentick a Declaration in favour of the King of *Hungary*. During her Fathers reign, and in her minority, they had been otherwiſe inſpired; and if their opinions might have prevailed, doubtleſly the Party of the Princes and Towns had rather been ſupported, who demanded a making good of all that had been agreed on by the Peace of *Munſter* before they would proceed to that Election. This makes eaſily comprehended that an Ambaſſador from this Court was neceſſary during all that time, but that he ſhould be continued after the reſignation of this Princeſs, and that when ſhe had left the Kingdom *Iemonteki* ſhould every where follow her under that character, is a myſtery, of which no reaſon can be imagined, that ſeems not too flat and feeble to be real. For why ſhould the *Spaniards* be at ſuch coſt to keep in with this Princeſs after ſhe had diſpoſſeſſed her ſelf of her Dominion, or court her then, their enemies having received all her favours whilſt ſhe ſate on the throne? The *Spaniards*, I ſay, that never do any thing, where that intereſt, that as much governs Kings as Kings do Subjects, is not exactly obſerved: that repine at the entertaining the many diſcontented Princes that have ſided with them, and that ſeldom abandon what is ſolid and neceſſary, for what is

plauſible and ſuperfluous. Notwithſtanding all which they not only cauſed her to be attended by an Ambaſſador, when ſhe had no right to one, and who (her Prerogative being gone with her Soveraignty) muſt needs appear rather a Gentleman Uſher than Publick Miniſter, but omitted not to complement and preſent her from *Madrid* it ſelf, with 12 of the beautifulleſt Horſes of the Kings Stable. What is rumored here that ſhe hath ſtill the diſpoſal of Forces, and that *Koningſmarc* by her Order marches to aſſiſt the Arch-Duke with an Army of Twelve thouſand men, is a meer raillery.

Her reſignation was doubtleſs a ſecret of State, ſpun and wove with more art than is imagined, and nothing leſs than what it ſeemed; ſhe retained neither credit nor authority to make her Miſtreſs of any thing more than her Penſions; and though becauſe the Pill was very well gilt, the World believed ſhe ſwallowed it willingly, and taſted nothing bitter, a Perſon of as great judgment as curioſity, told me, That as the *Palatine* appeared a great Captain when *Generaliſſimo* in *Germany*, he no leſs approved himſelf an able Polititian, in a quiet poſſeſſing himſelf of the Crown of the Great *Guſtavus* his Uncle, even in the life-time of his Daughter and only Heir: The manner of doing this ſeems very ſubtle, for after he was declared her Succeſſor (partly on occaſion of the over-heroick inclinations of that Princeſs, who ſeemed amorous only of her own wit, and more ambitious to be thought a Woman learned and liberal, than

than a Queen prudent and capable of governing partly by reaſon of the inclination of the Counſellors and States of the Kingdom, who grew weary of obeying a Maid, more ſollicitous to be the Miracle of her Sex than of her Dignity) and a reſolution taken that if ſhe ſhould marry, it muſt be with none but him, all his endeavors tended to make known he was fitter to eſpouſe the Kingdom than Queen: in effect he quickly appeared equal to the former, and (were it naturally or artificially) ſo well acted the part of a King, that it was very apparent that whileſt he fell back from probability of being ſuch by means of the later, he advanced in hopes of it, by the general inclination of the People, and Intereſt of State. His Conformity of Humors and Manners with thoſe of that Countrey, opened him ſo fair a way to the Throne, that the Queen (whoſe Cuſtoms were directly contrary) became jealous, with ſuch an averſion for his Perſon, as ſhe could not ſufficiently conceal. This obliged him to retire to an Iſland, part of his Inheritance, leaving all to time and the Queen her ſelf, who confirmed the People in their diſlike of her. She continued to value leſs than ſhe ought the moſt conſiderable Perſons, and moſt important Affairs. Her vaſt fancy and ardent thirſt after curious Sciences, joyned to that extraordinary manner of conduct that poſſeſſed her, made her flie from thought to thought, and from employment to employment, without ever fixing on the Duties of her Charge, and Care of her Crown and Subjects. One while

ſhe was entirely taken up by Letters with *Des Cartes*, *Salmaſius*, and *Bouchard*, whom ſhe had ſent for, with the firſt to engage her ſelf in the Labirinth of his Modern Philoſophy, with the other to trace the Antiquities of *Rome* and *Greece*, and with the laſt to penetrate the Myſteries of the Catholick and Proteſtant Faith. Sometimes ſhe abandoned both Books and Scholars, calling all the firſt Bawbles, and the laſt Pedants. At the time of this gay humor, crowds of young people that ſwarmed about her, paſſed their time very greeably. Masks, Balls, Plays, Collations, Huntings, Tours, with all the little pleaſures that are the principal ragouts of the idleneſs of Courts, were then alone in requeſt. Wit and Fancy with all that boundleſs and extravagant jollity can produce, then diſplayed themſelves with the higheſt advantages, and his parts were moſt applauded, that ſeemed capableſt of theſe fond Diverſions which lead from pleaſure to pleaſure and paſtime to paſtime, without knowing what they ſeek, or on what to ſettle. In theſe ſeveral manners of living ſhe equally ſcattered the Crowns Revenue amongſt Strangers, by whoſe Counſel ſhe governed her ſelf in many things, and by her own head in all the reſt. This gave occaſion to one *Miſſenius*, a Phyſitian or Hiſtorian, if I miſtake not, that had been advanced by her, to publiſh a Book little to her advantage He highly extolled the Prince Palatin, then declared Heir of the Crown, addreſsing himſelf to him and the Kingdoms Senators, for remedy of the diſorders he obſerved.

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His Stile diſcovered him, and the Queen made appear very great moderation on occaſion of his ingratitude, and the Prince no leſs addreſs and judgment, in ſatisfying her that he too much deteſted the Crime of that unworthy fellow, to have contributed any thing towards it. All this while a ſecret averſion for the Queen inſinuated it ſelf amongſt the greateſt part of the Senators and People. Some ſaid they muſt have a Soldier to command them, others lamented the poverty of their Country, and that Rixdollers were ſo ſcarce amongſt them. That Peace ſuited ill with a Countrey that produced nothing but iron, which they ought to truck for the Ducats of *Poland* or Patagons of *Germany*. That an occaſion of rupture with one of theſe could not be wanting, that the truce with *Poland* was almoſt at an end, and that they ſtood in need of nothing but a King, either a *Charles* or another *Guſtavus*. That all that was defective in his Daughter abounded in his Nephew; notwithſtanding all which their reſpect to the next blood of that great King, ſuffered them not to open their mouths wide, nor to ſpeak publickly; but whether it were that the Senators had more particularly expreſſed themſelves to the Queen in private, or that of her ſelf ſhe well underſtood, by the Conjuncture of Affairs and Inclination of the People, that ſhe had not long to raign, or elſe by ſome tranſport of Heroick fancy, or were it that all theſe things together contributed to her renunciation, it at laſt became publick to the admiration of all the world. This change was

the diſcourſe of all *Europe*, and as there had not happened any thing in many Ages ſo ſuprizing, every man endeavored to find the cauſes of it in a thouſand Chymerical reaſons. This great Queen was ſo unfortunate, ſhe eſcaped not the teeth of Satyriſts on occaſion of it. They began by a bad opinion of her underſtanding, and jealouſie of ill guided Morals; her affections and judgment ſeemed very unſtable, and her Enemies reported ſhe quitted not a Crown and Scepter on a Principle of Vertue to live to her ſelf, and in a ſolitude where ſhe might the better cultivate her Mind and exalt her Faith, but out of of an inclination to wander, and expoſe to Fame that Prodigy of the North ſhe had ſo highly vaunted. This ſo feeble Motive of ſo great an Action made ſome conjecture it was not her choice, but that her Deſcent from the Throne might be glorious, ſhe was permitted or adviſed to cover with the Mantle of Generoſity and auſtere Vertue, the neceſſity to which they reduced her of reſigning the Crown to her Coſin before her death. That great Soul and vigorous Intellect ſhe ever pretended to, on this occaſion doubtleſly furniſhed her with ſuch Maximes, it repreſented her reſigning the Soveraiguty as much better than its forſaking her, and that by anticipation of her defeat ſhe ſhould triumph in it: That a timely retreat is oftentimes better than an obſtinat combat. That a good Horſeman alights, when he perceives his Horſe will not carry him to his journeys end. That ſhe ſhould do well to imitate that Illuſtrious Roman that vaunted

vaunted to have been employed before himself desired it, and to have quitted before it was desired by others; by the first designing the effect of his good fortune, and by the second giving testimony of his good Conduct. The Event shews she yielded to these reasons, and the better to disguise all appearance of constraint, omitted nothing that might conceal her displeasure. *Piementelli* her Favorite wrote in such terms to this Court, clearly discovering the bottom of this affair and humor of this Princess, with which he had order to comply, and offer her all manner of honour and good reception in the Dominion of the King his Master. He effected this without difficulty, because so well with her that all was acceptable from him. Having entirely resigned her self to his Counsel and Conduct, she had no sooner cast off the Royal Robe, than she left *Swede* in the Equipage and Habit of a Modern Amazon. She did not only in her actions retain nothing of the Customs of her Sex, whose weakness was so contemptible to her, but avoided all conversation with it, her Attendants and Servants were all Men, scorning to use Women either at her rising or going to bed. Her own habit was mixed of what is used by both. A loose Coat reaching to the middle of her Leg, and under it a kind of Vest almost to her Heel, a Handkerchief like a Cravat about her Neck, a Black Periwig, though her own Hair was flaxen; with a Hat and Feather, were her ordinary Accoutrements, or rather her Disguise, whilest she travailed: Nay at *Antwerp* and *Brussells*, where

where ſhe continued ſome time, ſhe changed nothing; and they which have written of her, repreſent her in a Dreſs very little different. Humor or averſion made her alwayes (as much as poſſible) avoid the Viſits of Women, and as *Thaleſtris* for *Alexander*, ſo ſhe at firſt expreſſed a great impatience and extraordinary paſſion to ſee the Prince of *Conde*. She publickly ſaid, *She was ſorry there was no Houſe in* Bruſſels *large enough to lodge them both; that he was her Hero, and the only Man ſhe admired.* He was at that time at the Siege of *Arras*, whither ſhe writ to him ſhe would come, and after his Example make no difficulty of wearing the Spaniſh Colours. This Prince having augmented his glory, though by an unfortunate concluſion of that Enterpriſe, her deſire of ſeeing him was redoubled; to teſtifie how much ſhe was concerned in the honour he had acquired by a retreat that had equalized the defeat of the Spaniards, to the victory of their enemies. After ſo handſom advances and obliging addreſſes for an Interview ſhe paſſionately deſired, one would hardly believe ſhe could become cold, and change ſo many evident teſtimonies of impatience, to as viſible ones of indifference. One of that Princes Agents told me that out of an humor very extraordinary and ſurprizing, ſhe ſtudied Punctilio's on the form of his Reception, when he was even ready to make his Viſit. The Arch-Duke after the rout before *Arras*, went to ſee her at *Antwerp*, and ſhe received him with exceſsive reſpects and honours; for not ſatisfied

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to attend him at her Stair-foot, ſhe paſſed over a great Court, and met him at her outer Gate. The Prince of *Conde*, whoſe courage may juſtly equaliſe him to what is greateſt, and whoſe birth yields to few that wear not Crowns, deſired to know how ſhe would comport her ſelf towards him; thoſe he employed in this could never obtain any ſatisfactory anſwer, and therefore doubting ſhe might make ſome difference between him and the Archduke, he reſolved not to ſee her: but becauſe he was already on his way, and importuned not to come to an open rupture, he reſolved of an expedient to ſee her *incognito*. He therefore ſent his Train to attend her as if himſelf were gone back, and that he might ſee her unknown to her, reſolved to enter her chamber when full of his people, and to appear no otherwiſe than as one of thoſe that waited on her on his account. At firſt ſhe knew him not, but at laſt diſcovering him, when he went away ſhe would have accomp nied him; but he told her *he muſt have all or nothing*, and without ſtaying for an anſwer went as he came. It is moſt certain that he whom ſhe looked on as the Hero of this age, at that interview loſt the opinion that ſhe was the Heroine. Her reſolution yet, that hath on ſo many occaſions been remarquable, was not the principal cauſe of her inequality towards him: It was a trick put upon her by the *Spaniards*, contrived by *Piementelli* at inſtigation of the Earl of *Fuenſaldaigne*, that was very ill with him: For though the King of *Spain* h d expreſly ordered that he ſhould be treated e-

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qually with the Archduke, and the ſame honors paid him, this was not the firſt time that more had been promiſed at *Madrid* than performed at *Bruxels*, ſhe who is entirely devoted to the *Spaniards*, and governs her ſelf by their Councels only, did nothing on this occaſion that was not agreed on with them: and moſt certain that the Prince of *Conde* made appear ſuch a contempt of their vanity, and indifference for her, that they were aſhamed as well of their own as his proceeding: this obliged the *Spaniards* to endeavour their reconciliation, and to find a neutral place where they might accidentally meet: which happened in the *Pall mall*, where a game was agreed on, in which both of them were on the ſame ſide; but this had no effect, and they parted with the ſame indifference as at firſt.

What I have obſerved of the humour and comportment of this Princeſs, is but the ſum of what I have heard from thoſe that diſcourſe of the deſigne of this Court in its many careſſes to her: of which publick curioſity hath gained ſo little light, we may conclude that nothing is ſo certain as the uncertainty of it. Some will have that no Northern puiſſance having been ſo fatal to the Houſe of *Auſtria* as that of the Kingdom ſhe abandoned, the chief Miniſter aimed at acquiring her affection, and making uſe of her animoſity againſt her Country for diſcovering its greateſt ſecrets. To this fancy they add, that it being improbable that the King that ſucceeds her ſhould continue long in peace with the Emperor, her Councils and Creatures that continue

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in *Swede*, may be uſeful as moſt proper againſt all correſpondence he may have in *Germany*, for thwarting the Election of the King of the Romans, and forming a party capable of recalling him, with another manner of power then what he had before *Prague*, when he retired with ſo great regret, and diſcovered that if he had not ſo ſtrong a hand, nor ſo long an Arm as the great *Guſtavus* his Uncle; he had no leſs thirſt after victory. Others as ridiculous, imagine that a principle of generoſity and bounty obliges the King to maintain an Ambaſſador with this Queen, to comfort her in her Eclipſe of Dignity, by continuing ſuch an acknowledgement of Power and Honour; and that to mitigate her reſentments, he will in time make her Vice-Queen of *Naples*, or ſome other Realm, where though ſhe command not over ſo largely extended a Dominion, nor with a power ſo ablolute, as when ſhe ſate on the Throne, ſhe will have the ſatisfaction to enjoy a pleaſanter Climate. There are that when they muſt needs acknowledge they cannot comprehend to what purpoſe the chief Miniſter is ſo ſolicitous in cultivating this Queens good graces, have recourſe to Zeal for Religion; and that he propoſeth to himſelf no other end nor other glory, then to cauſe an abjuration of her Faith, to follow the renunciation of her Crown, and to ſend her to *Rome* as his triumph for ſo great a work. Whatever it be that moves the Spaniards to a Negotiation, that to moſt wits ſeems very uſeleſs; this is moſt certain that if they have complacency

placency for this Princeſs, ſhe hath no leſs for them. For beſides what I have already ſaid, I have had advice that at her arrival at *Antwerp*, ſhe extolled the beauty of that City with ſuch exceſs, ſhe made no difficulty of preferring it before the kingdom ſhe had quitted; nor of ſaying, *She had rather be Marchioneſs of* Antwerp then Queen of *Sweden*. It is moſt certain, that in *Stockholm* it ſelf, in her familiar diſcourſe ſhe made it manifeſt, ſhe had no great value either for her Countrey or Subjects, whither this were a deſigne and foreſight, that as ſhe ſhould not long command the latter, ſo ſhe would ſoon quit the former, or an effectual averſion for her people, cauſed by frequentation of ſtrangers, and contempt of her Countrey by reaſon of the relations they made her of the benignity of the Air they breathed in the parts where they were born. Beſides all this, it is well known, that after ſhe had teſtified a deſire to become Mediatreſs of a peace between *France* and *Spain*, about which ſhe had diſcourſe with Mr *Chanut*, when he was to ſee her, (aſſuring him that the Spaniards wiſhed it, and would put their concernments into her hands, if *France* would do the like) ſhe was angry when ſhe knew her interpoſal was not accepted, and writ to him in terms very different from the former, and more advantagious to *Spain*: amongſt her reſpects for all that comes to her in the name of that King, might be reckoned her manner of living with *Antonio Piementelli*, were it believed ſhe had the ſame value for his Character

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as for his perſon: ſhe hath an extraordinary propenſity to all he propounds, even to a forcing her own inclinations to a compliance with his. She is known to be Learned, and to love Books and Schollars, yet buſies her ſelf in trifles to ſuit his *Genius*, in ſuch a manner, that if any Learned men viſit her whilſt he is preſent, ſhe avoids ſuch diſcourſes as may diſcover his weakneſs, be tedious to him, ſtrike him dumb and conſtrain that gay humour is reported to be ſo natural to him.

Having reported all that the Spaniſh Criticiſms informed me in thoſe matters of State, (whether Catholic or Paradoxical) which becauſe of freſheſt date are their moſt uſual entertainments, and having mentioned their opinions of thoſe that manage them, or that are or have bin their principal or acceſſary objects; it is time to ſay ſomething of ſuch Miniſters of forreign Princes as I had the honour to be acquainted with in this Court, the firſt of theſe was the Earl of *Fieſchi*, Agent for the Prince of *Conde*; he was very kind to us, and being as well one of the greateſt wits as Gallants of the French Court; it is pity he hath engaged himſelf in a party and employment that hath ſo much altered his conſtitution, and changed his humor, ſo that he is hardly to to be known by thoſe that have been moſt particularly acquainted with him: he is fallen into a ſickneſs that by intervals makes him pale, diſorders his pulſe and diſables him for company or diſcourſe. He keeps a good Table, the Countrey he is in conſidered

ſidered: when we eat with him, it afflicted us to ſee him in the middle of a meal riſe from his ſeat and caſt himſelf on a bed. At acceſs of the fit, he ſodainly changes colour, and one would think him fainting: this is ſuppoſed to be the effect alone of melancholly and diſpleaſure cauſed by the troubles in which he is engaged, which have ſeparated him from his relations, eſtate, and tranquility of the life he had wont to lead. He took the Prince of *Conde*'s party out of inclination and generoſity only, for it is ſaid, he had not the leaſt cauſe of diſcontent either from the Court or chief Miniſter, and his intereſt would rather have led him to have followed the Duke of *Orleans* and Madamoiſelle then any other, his wife relating to that Princeſs; but he thought he was to go on, and not boggle when he had once choſen a maſter. After ſerving him well at *Bourdeaux*, and ſeveral rencounters, he was ſent hither to give greater reputation to the affairs of that Prince, managed by *St Agolin*, in quality of Gentleman of his chamber. At firſt he endeavoured to divert himſelf by all the recreations this place afforded, beſides which, he enjoyed one peculiar to himſelf by reaſon of the excellent verſes he compoſed: he was pleaſed to repeatto us ſome ſonnets he had made in praiſe of the Prince of *Conde*, and almoſt a whole Scene of a piece he begun in imitation of *Senecas Medea*: but neither love nor the Muſes had charms powerful enough againſt that diſcontent and melancholly, which reduced him to the lamentable condition in which

which we lef him; his health being disturbed by so frequent and sodain alterations as neither himself, his friends, nor Physitians could understand. He therefore forsook all pleasures, for Devotions, and instead of seeking company that might divert his thoughts from contemplating his affairs and infirmity; he made *la Casa del Campo*, his Hermitage, whither he often went, either alone, or accompanied by one friend, whom he tired with silent walking. The King allowed him a Coach with four Horses, neither good nor bad; but the Coachman and Footman very ill cloathed for servants of so great a King. Besides this equipage which he commands whensoever he pleases; he hath his particular Train which consists of Some Footmen, a Secretary, a Master of the Horse, a Page, and some other Officers; to maintain himself and them, the King allows him 1800 Crowns a month and pays his house-rent: he wears the Spanish habit, and seems so far concerned in the interests of that Court, whither really, or to justify his engagement with it, that he speaks of it with passion, and will allow nothing to be comparable to the manner of living in it; this is not because without cause of complaint, but, (as is supposed) obliged by prudence: He medles with little at present, as well by reason of his indisposition, as that the Prince of *Conde* sometime since, sent one of his Counsellors, who seems to have the intrigue and principal affairs in his hand; he is called *Mazeroles*, and well qualified: he hath as much Learning as is necessary to manage the affairs of

the time; he perfectly understands this Court and Nation; his wit is solid, yet quick and supple; his judgement exquisite, and in the affairs he handles there needs be no distrust of his mistaking the shadow for the substance, nor the point for the hilt; his conversation is both agreeable and serious in such a manner, that none go from him without satisfaction, and instruction of many things remarkable in themselves or circumstances. In a word, one may say of him that his parts are solidly established, both by Art and nature, were he not tormented by an Asthma, that gives him little repose. This indispositon was acquired by riding post on his Masters occasions, and it is so violent, that for some years he hath not slept but in a chair, not daring to lie in a bed, for fear of being suffocated by a defluxion and shortness of wind. The King of *Spain* allows him also one of his Coachés, drawn by as many Horses as that which attends the Earl of *Fiesque*. In the Palace which is called *Conde house* remain still some of those that followed that Princes party, and accepted not the *Amnesty*; the chief of these is Monsieur *de Trincars*, Counsellor in the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, he is a man of parts and honour, and that was very well with Monsieur *d' Espernon*, but that carried with the stream, abandoned himself to follow the fortune of the Prince of *Conde*, when he came to possess himself of the Government of *Gascone*; that party declining, the Prince of *Conti* sent him into *England* to solicite succors, whilst he was there, they of

Bourdeaux

Bourdeaux returned to their Kings obedience, which expoſed him to a great deal of rigor, the effects of which, would have been ſenſible to his Eſtate, had it not been ſecured as his wives Dowry. That his perſon might be in no leſs ſafety, he retired to this place; after which, the Prince made him Intendant of his Army, but he cannot obtain from theſe Miniſters 500 piſtols the Prince gave him to be paid out of his penſions; neither doth he ſolicite them longer, nor preſs any thing but his diſcharge, which he knows they will not grant without the 500 piſtols, leſt his arrival with the Prince, give him a new ſubject of complaint by ſo much the more juſt, in that this Counſellor, whom he ſummons to an imployment, in which he will be neceſſary to him, demands not any gratification or *Ajuda de coſta*, as it is here called, but the payment of part of a ſum that is due to him; by what I gueſſed, the difficulty lay not in the expedition of the paſport, but of the Money, without which they would not have him go away. In the ſame houſe lives alſo an Agent of Monſieur *de Marcin* who ſolicits his Maſters penſions (which amounts to 12000 Crowns a year) as General of the Kings Armies; beſides the aſſignation the Prince of *Conde* gives on the Money he draws from hence; all theſe and ſome others that are in this houſe, live on the 18 hundred Crowns a month that are given the Earl of *Fieſque*; it is true, that by the death of *St Agolin* who was the Princes firſt Envoye; this charge will be ſomewhat eaſed: *St Agolin* was a Gen-

tleman of *Auvergne* that lay ſick long, and was at laſt killed by hot Medicines; they ſpeak very pleaſantly of his Doctors, who after ſix months application of all manner of cold remedies, told him, that ſince thoſe availed not, they muſt try hot ones, and ſo brought him to his end, in which he was happier then in ſo craſie a life: I ſaw his Grave, and was pointed out one of the ſumptuoſities of this Countrey, which requires perſons of quality to have crimſon Velvet or red Sattin nailed to their Coffin, adorned with gold and ſilver Lace, at leaſt on the ſeams, if not covered over.

The ſecond Agent or Ambaſſador of forrain Princes, was the Dukes of *Florence*; he is a Clergy-man that wants not wit, of good meen, and free and affable converſation. His brother, whom we knew at the great Dukes Court, where he is very conſiderable, had given us a Letter for him, which we delivered quickly after our arrival at *Madrid*: he received us well, and made many offers of ſervice to my Lord..... but gave us occaſion to obſerve that the ſtudy of *Spaniſh* and its near relation to the *Italian*, made it very difficult for us to uſe the latter without mixture of ſome words of the former: nay ſome *Italians* could ſcarcely avoid this, nor ſpeak their own languaage with purity after acquiſition of ſome little of the *Caſtillian*. No Prince in *Italy* being more ſtreightened by the *Spaniards* than the Great Duke, he alwayes keeps an Ambaſſador in this Court to get intelligence of whatever paſſes: for beſides that which this King poſſeſſes

poſſeſſes in the Iſle of *Elba*, he is Maſter of the beſt Havens in *Toſcany* that belonged to the Republick of *Sienna*, and therefore much concerned in the affairs of this Crown particularly in thoſe that belong to it in *Italy*. Seignior *Encontri*, of whom I now ſpeak, is very intelligent in theſe matters, and too active and quick-ſighted to be ignorant of what paſſes here. He diſcovered the Treaty of the *Genoueſes* with this King for acquiſition of *Pontremoli*; and as ſoon as he had vented the mine, and recived the great Dukes orders to act with all his might towards gaining a place ſo advantagious to him, he ſo well thwarted the *Genoueſes* in their Bargain, he broke it off, and ſtruck up for his Maſter. In acknowledgment of which that Prince a little after ſent the Ambaſſador a horſe of maſſie Gold, made ſometime before for *Henry* the fourth, or *Lewis* the thirteenth of *France*, and removing the effigies of one of thoſe Kings which was of the ſame mettal, there needed no more but to place in its ſtead that of *Philip* the fourth, to be preſented to *Don Lewis de Haro*, who accepting it, declared to do ſo on no other termes, but to beſtow it in his Maſters Cabinet, where, as was reported, he effectively placed it. My Lord..... made many viſits to this Ambaſſ dor, who alſo came twice or thrice to ſee him; being an Eccleſiaſtick he only wore a long Robe, without taking the habit of the Country.

The third forrain Miniſter was Seignior *Quirini*, Ambaſſador for the Republick of *Venice*: He is very magnificent and ſplendid, and of a

meen altogether ſuitable to the Majeſty of that *Auguſt* Senate: whoſe dignity yet he better ſupports by an acquired knowledg of all that belongs to a perſon of quality, accompanied by a judgment whoſe ſolidity incomparably moderates the exuberance of his memory in ſuch a manner, that the promptitude of the one never claſhes againſt the maturity of the other.

A Gentleman of *Piedmont* called *Ranuſio*, who had been ſent by the Duke of *Savoy* to the Dutcheſs of *Mantua*, his Aunt, made us known to Seignior..... Secretary of the Embaſſy, who preſented us to that excellent perſon. He received us perfectly well, and aſſured my Lord ..... that the memory of his Grandfather was dear to the Senate, to whom he had been Ambaſſador, and that they which then governed ſaw ſo many excellent qualities in that great Perſonage, they mentioned him to their Children as one of the ableſt headpieces had ever appeared before them; after this he diſcourſed with us about the troubles of *England*, and the War between *Cromwell* and *Holland* then lately ended, and told us that the Seigniory of *Venice*, who was the firſt that ſent Ambaſſadors to *Henry* the fourth of *France*, before ſeated on his Throne, which the League with great might and fury diſputed againſt him, and that had made no difficulty of acknowledging the States of the *Low-Countries* when they had freed themſelves from the Spaniſh obedience, had not as yet ſent any Ambaſſador into *England* to own that Republick or Protector. The reaſon he gave us was, that

that that prudent Senate would do nothing it might be forced to revoke; and though these later might seem (however so sodainly) better established than the former, they could not subsist long, and would therefore wait till their power were better settled, less tumultuary and precipitous than as yet: That it would see what time would do with them, lest with other Soveraigns it might suffer the displeasure to have addressed it self to Mushrums, who started up in a night, and might vanish in the morning; for though the forces and industry of the King of *Great Britain* had till that time failed of restoring him to his Throne, it was probable enough he might recover it by means of internal revolutions, and such flowings of State, as return what the like ebbs have carried away. Visits and acquaintance of this nature give a soul to travail, when a moment presents one part of what great Personages resident, in the Country where he is, have been long acquiring. And as such men observe all with great exactness, and have opportunity to do so, their discourses are sometimes more instructive than some years residence, they being usually most open to strangers.

The three Ambassadors I have mentioned were all we knew here, though there was also one on accompt of the Emperor called *Comte Lambert*, who succeeded the Comte of *Grain*; but we never visited him. At our being at *Antwerp* he was also there with all his Family; his Wife is Daughter to *Compte Wallenstine*, Lord

High Chamberlain of his Imperial Majesty. He received the Collar of the Golden Fleece from the Kings own hands, and went away no less satisfied than we, by vacancy of several Chambers in the Inne, for want of which we did little less than Camp the night before his departure. He is a tall man, thin-faced, and of no extraordinary meen. They say he agreed better with this Court than the Earl of *Grain*, a bold wit, that made himself more feared than loved, that spoke free truths to the King, and medled in more than belonged to his charge: he slighted the Order, that no Coach, except the Kings and Masters of his Horse should be drawn with six Mules or Horses in the Town. He did not think himself obliged to observe this, and still went through the streets as formerly: He was once in a passion against those that admonished him of it in the Kings name, whereas the last complies and uses but four like other Ambassadors.

The King of *Denmark* hath also an Agent here, but we had no acquaintance with him; he lives privately, and the people one day as he passed called him *Lutheran*; the King himself (on occasion of a difference he had) not using terms more favourable. Besides some small interests of State of his Masters in this Court I think his residence is only to facilitate the Commerce of his Subjects and Allies, he was upon his departure, and staid only for a pass from *France*, that he might not be arrested on the Frontier.

An Envoy of the *Landgrave* of *Armstadt* was also upon going with more satisfaction, (as I found

found by his diſcourſe) as well that he was no longer to trouble himſelf with ineffectual ſolicitations, as that he had obtained (as he thought) ſomething for his Maſters intereſts. He came to demand the Penſions the *Spaniards* ought to pay him according to Treaties made with him in *Germany*, and of which the arrears mounted very high, but he carried away nothing but Paper with aſſignations very incertain (as I was told) and no ready mony, beſides *Aynda de Coſta*, that is ſomething to bear his charges.

We ſaw alſo the Popes *Nuncio* who was likewiſe on his departure, for which he had long prepared, but, becauſe he that was to ſucceed him, called Seignior *Maſſimi* (if I miſtake not) had at his landing in the Kingdom of *Valentia* been arreſted in the Kings name, with prohibibition to go forward, he was fain to ſtay till that difference was accommoded, which aroſe from *Innocent* the Tenth's ſending him that was to ſucceed, without having firſt given the Court advice of it, and known whether it were acceptable; and ſince the *French* had on the ſame occaſion arreſted the *Nuncio* in *Provence*, it was thought *Spain* might do the like; beſides that, this came charged with ſome inſtructions relating to *Portugal* and this Court, which in the Kings opinion were not ſufficiently Catholick, who poſſeſſed of that title with precedence of all others, required them after his own faſhion.

Theſe difficulties, and ſuch other as concerned his reception, being at laſt removed, after his paſſing

paſſing ſometime as a private perſon in the Kingdom of *Valentia*, he was permitted to come to this Town, and exerciſe his function: He arrived on the Eve of *Corpus Chriſti*, or a little before it, and ſaw the ſolemnity through a grated Window, not appearing becauſe not received; and he in whoſe place he came (doubtleſsly not a little troubled to be removed from ſo profitable an employment) did that day his laſt office in attending the King in that Ceremonie.

Now I am ſpeaking of the Ambaſſadors and Miniſters of forrain Princes, I will not omit what I have to ſay of *Margarite* of *Savoy* Dutcheſs of *Mantua*, who prepared to leave the Court, and paſs the reſt of her life in the Dutchy of *Millan*, where the King had aſſigned certain lands for her entertainment. She is Daughter of an Infanta of *Spain* and of *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*: She was married to Duke *Ferdinand*, the laſt Duke of *Mantua* of that Line, and had but one Daughter during the life of her Father married to the Duke of *Rethel*, Son of the Duke of *Nevers*, to ſecure to him the ſucceſſion of thoſe Eſtates as neareſt Heir; but *Spain* reſolving to diſpute it with him; this woman, whoſe inclinations were totally *Spaniſh*, ſided with the houſe of *Auſtria* againſt her own Daughter; the Commotions that were conſequences of this in *Italy*, are known to all the world, it is enough that I remember here that this Princeſs being retired to this Court, for which ſhe had ſo openly declared, was well received, and to employ her wit and zeal made Vice-Queen of *Portugal*; where,

where, to ſpeak truth ſhe comported her ſelf prudently. But the inſolence and avarice of the Miniſters impoſed to act under her, ſeconded by the countenance and approbation of the Condeduke, at that time Favorite, was ſo great ſhe could not prevent their driving the people to diſpair, diſcontenting the Grandes, and wronging the Clergy, giving occaſion to all of them to take Arms for reeſtabliſhng their liberty. Theſe things ſhe often wrote both to the King and his chief Miniſter, particularizing all exorbitancies committed, and danger of a general revolt: But the Favourite cauſed little regard to be given to her advice, ever crying out ſhe was a Woman, and all ſhe writ trifles, more crediting the letters of the Miniſters he had ſent with the intrigue than hers; on which accompt after affairs in *Lisbonne* had changed face, and a ſhort exile that permitted her not to come to Court was paſſed over, at her return from that loſt Kingdom, getting opportunity to ſpeak with the King, ſhe aſſiſted towards ruining the Duke of *Olivares* in his opinion. She was afterwards entertained at *Madrid* by his Majeſty, who now at laſt gave her permiſſion to retire to her native Country, there to lay her bones, being very aged. Some nevertheleſs ſuppoſe her ſent into *Italy*, to be a means of inticing the Duke of *Savoy* her Nephew (now of age) from the French alliance, and of continuing the Duke of *Mantua* her Grandchild in the Spaniſh intereſts, into which he entred after the taking *Caſal*, and from which they diſtruſt he may be biaſſed

aſſed by his great engagements to *France*, as well on accompt of his birth as of the Eſtate he poſſeſſes there.

During our ſtay at *Madrid* we had many faithful Companions of our Travails Monſieur ..... in whom to the deſire of knowing things that are conſiderable, is joyned ſuch a comprehenſion of them, he is become capable of ſignalizing himſelf in ſervice of his Country, as ſoon as he ſhall attain the rank his own merit, and his deceaſed fathers ſervices ſeem to have acquired him. I will ſay nothing of his other vertues, that have made too deep impreſſion in my memory, to believe they can ever be effaced, I had the happineſs to know him in *Florence*, where Mr..... and he renewed the friendſhip they had contracted in their tender years, when they bore arms together in *Holland* under Prince *William* of *Orange*. Coming out of *Italy* he landed in the Kingdom of *Valentia*, and from thence went ſtreight to *Madrid* in hope of meeting us, but having continued there ſometime, deſpairing of our arrival, he reſolved to be gone: when he leaſt thought of us, and could not expect at *Madrid* in the Middle of the Spring thoſe that ſhould have paſſed the Winter there, four horſe-men paſſed by his lodging, whoſe habit and horſes diſcovered them to be of the other ſide the Mountains, his curioſity obliged him to follow them to the place where they alighted, not a little ſurpriſed to find thoſe he had ſo impatiently expected: he was then in ſuch an equipage, that I muſt confeſs at firſt I knew him

not

not, he wore the Caſſock, Rocket, thin and ſtreight Stocklngs, with Pumps and Breeches like Holſters, which ſo ſtrangely diguiſed him he ſeemed not the ſame perſon we had been acquainted with in *Florence*; his muſtaches or whiskers grown long and turned up with irons, made me more a ſtranger to the air of his face, he not a little reſembling the King of *Spain*, of whom he hath more of the meen in that habit, than of himſelf, when clothed after the faſhion of his Countrey. After mutual expreſſions of our joy, we acquainted him with the delayes of our journey, and he told us the ſucceſſes of his, and having paſſed three moneths in *Madrid*, during which we failed not one day of ſeeing one another we reſolved to paſs together into *France* by way of *Arragon*: but before we put this in execution, a Troop of illuſtrious Strangers, whom we were very glad to ſee arrived in *Madrid*: amongſt them were two Gentlemen whoſe perfections of mind and body made evident, that if heaven hath given them great advantages by eminent birth, their education and docility have contributed no leſs to that virtue and prudence which ſurpaſſes their age. They brought many Letters from the Earl of *Fuenſaldaigne*, Dom *Stephen de Gamarra*, and other of the King of *Spains* Miniſters in the *Low-Countries*, to the beſt of this Court, who received them very well, but wanting the language they took along with them a *Burgundian* Doctor called *Rognar*, imployed in the buſineſſes of ſeveral Officers that ſerve in the Kings Armies, and other perſons of his Nation

that

that are concerned in this Court to be their interpreter, they were careſſed by all, eſpecially by *Don Lewis* and the Earls of *Ognate* & *Pigneranda*: Though they reſolved to ſtay at *Madrid* no longer then Midſummer day to ſee the fight of Bulls, they habited themſelves according to the mode of the Country, and intending within two Moneths to leave it for *Portugal*, they began at firſt to provide horſes, and ſolicit the expedition of a Paſs to make the *Tour* of *Spain*, notwithſtanding the exceſſive heat of thoſe Regions.

As ſoon as we got our Paſs we prepared to be gone, it was in the ſame form as that we brought out of *Flanders* from the Arch-Duke, very ample and unlimited, as well to time as perſons. Having taken our leaves, and beſides the Nags we brought out of *France* furniſhed our ſelves with ſome *Spaniſh* Horſes, we left *Madrid* the 17th of *June*, taking the way of *Arragon*: in the forenoon we rid ſix leagues, the Country very dry, which continued to be ſo till we came to the River *de los Henares*, on which ſtands the City of *Alcala*, in Latin called *Complutum*. It is very famous for its Univerſity, founded (as is reported) on the Model of that of *Paris*, and like it divided into ſeveral Colledges, every one provided of Profeſſors called *Cathedraticos*. Divinity and Philoſophy floriſh more here than in any other Univerſity of *Spain*, and *Salamanca* in the Kingdom of *Leon* moſt for Students in the Civil Law, alone equalls it.

The Town is long but narrow, having little more than one fair ſtreet, in which the Scholars lodge:

lodge. Here, as I was told, Cardinal *Mazarin* was a Student, ſent by Cardinal *Colonna* when Legate in *Spain*: the little River of *Henares* that paſſes by it makes the land about it fertil, and renders it more agreeable than the reſt of the Country, where for want of water there are neither trees nor graſs: leaving here the poſte Rode, and taking the ſhorteſt way that led to *Arragon*, we lay at *Marcamalo*, about 4 leagues diſtant; this is a little Village without any thing remarkable.

The 18*th* we dined at *Hita*, a ſmall Town ſeated on the top of a little hill ſhadowed by a greater: that night we lay at *Cadadra* a pretty Town in a Valley: From hence we went the next morning early, and dined at *Saguença*; we inned in the Suburbs, where we drunk wine eſteemed the beſt of *Caſtile*; but it is like *aqua-vitæ*, not only ſtrong but fiery, yet bears not water. Having refreſhed our ſelves, for we had a very cool chamber, and plenty of ſnow, we went to lodge at *Fuente Caliente*: or rather to do penance there for the pleaſure we enjoyed at noon. Its name (interpreted, the hot fountain) is not given it without reaſon; we ſuffered here very much, not only by heat, but bad accommodation on all accounts; the Hoſt was rude and barbarous, ſuitable to ſo ſavage a habitation.

The 20*th* over a very barren Countrey and hot Mountains we came to *Arcos*, the laſt Town of new *Caſtile*, where conſequently is a Puerto or Cuſtomhouſe: It was a Sunday and Holiday, and

th[illegible]

the people all at Maſs when we paſſed; we traverſed it very leiſurely without any one's ſaying any thing to us; but as ſoon as we were beyond a certain gate, by which we went from the Village to the High-way, in that part very ſtreight by reaſon of the Brook and Mountain, and had gotten about 100 paces beyond all the Barricado's, we perceived people running and calling after us; I ſtaied to know what they would have, and when they overtook me, they told me the Puerto or Cuſtom-houſe was in that Town. I replied we we were not Merchants, nor had any obligation upon us on that account, having ſufficient Paſsports from the King, and that if they had had any thing to ſay to us, they ought to have done it in the Town, and there have acquainted us that there was a Cuſtom-houſe, we having no *Moco de Mulas*, or Guide to inform us. They deſired that one of us would go back to ſhew our Paſs, which I did, though unadviſedly; for I have been told ſince we might have gone on, and gained *Arragon*, and ſo have avoided the cavils and impudence of thoſe Harpies. When I ſhewed my Paſs they ſaid they muſt call a Council to conſider if it were valid, and that therefore I ſhould ſend to the Company to return. Which being done they told us we might go *a la Poſada, e que toda la nueſtra ropa eſtava deſcaminada*; that we might go to the Inn, for all our baggage was confiſcated: then gueſſing they intended by terrifying to get money of us, I bid them read our Paſs, which was in theſe termes.

It

It having been repreſented to me in the names of ..... and ..... at preſent in this Court on occaſion of buſineſs very much importing them, that being to return to their Countrey, they deſire I would pleaſe to order them a Paſs: I have condiſcended, and therefore command all my Viceroys, Captains general, Governors, Corrigidors, Alcades, and other Judges and Juſtices of my Kingdoms and Dominions of what degree or quality ſoever, where the above-mentioned perſons with four ſervants and eight Horſes, their Arms and Baggage ſhall paſs, not to give them any lett, impediment or diſturbance whatſoever; but on the contrary, all aſſiſtance and favour they may ſtand in need of, for ſuch is our Will and pleaſure,

I the KING,

and underneath

GERONIMO de la Torre.

I thought this Paſs ſufficient to prevent theſe Publicans detaining us, but thirſt of gain in which, on ſeveral other occaſions they had had ſucceſs againſt all Juſtice and Reaſon, made them obſtinate by expectation of the like. I asked the cauſe of their diſreſpect to His Majeſties Paſſe? ſometimes they ſaid it was ſhewd too late, and otherwhiles that it was not on ſealed paper, by which I perceived they deſigned to bring us to a compoſition of 50 or 60 piſtols. Finding us

not at all compliable, and that I cauſed a Certificate to be made by a publick Notary; that *Franciſco Salazar*, Alcalde of the place, ſtayed us contrary to the Kings Paſſe, (having plotted together to that purpoſe) they began to talk high, hoping ſo to terrify us, and the Alcalde ſeiſing our *Valiſes*, cauſed them to be carried to the Cuſtom-houſe, where opening them he took an Inventory of all, and not only of ſuch Money as we had in them, but in our pockets, and forming an accuſation, obliged us to put in our anſwers; in which they endeavoured to circumvent us, but I looked ſo near to what they writ, I ſuffered nothing to paſs I had not ſpoken, otherwiſe proteſting againſt ſigning it: theſe many formalities were made uſe of to fright us with the name of Juſtice, of which, all their noiſe and ſcribling coming ſhort, a Prieſt that belonged to them and another fellow that did the Office of a Secretary, told me in private, that giving 50 piſtols we might go freely; I ſlighted this, but told them, I cared not if I gave them 30 Patagons, though their inſolence did not deſerve it. And ſuch indeed it was, particularly on the part of the *Alcalde Salazar*, a Knight of *St Jago*, but an arrant *raſcal* as well as the Cuſtomer *Nicholas Lopes de Cordova* that had the meen of a Jew; at laſt they became impudent and deſperately outragious when they ſaw they could not effect their deſign of plundering us; and perceiving it, reſolved that I ſhould return poſt to *Madrid*, to complain of them and deſire Juſtice; they alſo provided one to carry

their

their Juſtification to the Receiver-General of the Cuſtoms, and ſent him away afoot: the remainder of the day was ſpent in ſuch conteſtations with them, but at laſt they ſuffered me to go about Eight in the evening, their meſſenger being firſt diſpatched: My Lord —— writ all to the Earl of *Pigneranda*. I was impoſed upon by them at my firſt mounting, in the prices of the Horſes; no Poſts in the world furniſht with better then thoſe of *Spain*, nor that are leſs ridden; for, excepting ſuch as carry Letters and ſome extraordinary Couriers that are ſent to Court from ſeveral parts, eſpecially *St Sebaſtians* and *Catalonia*, this way is little made uſe of, they preferring Hackney Mules: which indeed are more commodious, as I found by experience on this occaſion, for though the Horſes be good, one is tormented by wretched Saddles, with very narrow Seats, high Pummels, and extraordinary hard. So that to be mounted in ſuch a manner, one is little more at eaſe then on a rack. At the 3d Stage, the horſes for all furniture had only Pannels with wooden ſtirrups hung in Ropes. Finding fault with ſuch equipage; the Poſtmaſter told me, it was not ſtrange he had no Saddles, and that I ſhould find the pannel eaſier, I complied, and at firſt was in a great deal of diſorder, becauſe I could not ſettle on the ſtirrups, and by reaſon of the extraordinary breadth of the pannel; but this paſſed over, I liked their Pannels better then their Saddles, and called for one at the next Stage, but could not have it, and took a Saddle, not ſo

convenient as the Pannel I was ſo unwilling to ride on. At the 3d Stage they took me for the expreſs of *Catalonia*, carrying ſome good news to the King, which I did not much contradict, becauſe I found my ſelf better uſed on account of it; they demanding for each Horſe but four Rials, about 2 s. 6 d. of our Money. Few Poſt-maſters keep above two or three horſes; neither are they obliged to more, They have Salaries of 3 or 400 Crowns; nay ſome 500, for the keeping only of two Horſes and a Poſt-Boy. The Earl of *Ognate* is Poſt-maſter-General, which is very profitable to him; my Horſes were every where very good, and galloped all the way, but the Poſtilions often ſtopping to give them breath, which they call *Rezelar*, is very troubleſome: Beſides, that at changing Horſes, eſpecially in the night, they are very tedious. The Poſt way is not the ſame we paſſed in going to *Arcos*, but over a very fertile Plain, watered by the River *de los Henares*; 5 or 6 Leagues are often rid on the ſame horſes, becauſe the Poſts are not eſtabliſhed as they ought to be at every two Leagues.

Arriving at *Madrid*, after ſome repoſe, and dining with Monſieur *de Mogeron*, I was forced to ſtop till the heat of the middle of the day paſſed over, before I could endeavour any thing in my buſineſs, for all here ſleeping after dinner, I could not ſee the Earl of *Pigneranda* (with whom I reſolved to begin, and for whom I had a Letter) till about five a clock; and therefore in the interim, went to conſult of my buſineſs

fineſs with ſome friends, and meeting in the *Calle Major*, a very honeſt Fleming, called Don *Pedro*, that underſtood this Court well, and ſpoke excellent Spaniſh, giving him account of our accident, he drew a Memorial to be preſented by the Earl of *Pigneranda* to the Council Royal, not doubting of my ſucceſs, but adviſing me not to be impatient of delays, it being moſt certain, that this people as much obſerve formalities in the ſlighteſt affairs, as in thoſe of the higheſt concernment, and withal letting me underſtand there was great indulgence for Farmers of Cuſtoms, becauſe the Kings principal Revenue, riſing from it, their exactions are ſometimes connived at. Indeed, Taxes on land bring up little or nothing in *Spain*, becauſe the Countrey is not ſufficiently manured, and were Husbandmen burthened, would be leſs ſo, even to a want of neceſſary ſuſtenance. He told me more, that when the Cuſtoms are Farmed, it is done in ſo abſolute a manner, that nothing paſſes, not for the Kings own uſe, without paying; and if he give any exemptions, they are deducted from the Rent the Farmers agreed for. Thoſe fellows therefore make uſe of a hundred cheats (too tedious to be here related) in order to confiſcation, which if they cannot effect with juſtice, they forge falſe ſuppoſitions, and under pretence of the Kings rights, exerciſe their Rapine with Soveraignty, and are ſo inſolent, that on all occaſions they vaunt themſelves to be the Kings ſervants; and a wretched waiter or other ſpawn of a Pub'ican, will ſometimes be ſaucy

enough to threaten an honest man to beat him, or break open his Trunk if he be slow in delivering the Key. In *France* one suffers no less by the extravagant greedinesse of this kind of cattle; and I cannot forget the pains they took at *Diep*, to send an Army of Guards aboard the vessel I arrived in, to visit my *Valise*, tossing up and down my cloaths, annd taxing a bit of cloth that remained of a suit I had made at *London* two Crowns; so that if Princes or their Ministers limit not their exactions, Travailers are miserably exposed to them, and this is their great scourge, the more to be apprehended, because seldom or never punished: the greatest part of those fellows in *Spain* are thought to be Jews, and when their plunderings have gorged them with wealth, the trap of the inquisition is set for them. Going at nine a clock to the Earl of *Pignerandas*, he was not returned, but I acquainted his Secretary Don *Martin* with my business, desiring him to move it to his Lord, and to give him the Letter I brought from my Lord ——with the Memorial: the next day about the same hour I went again, and found that Lord very much troubled at what had happened to us, who after, offering me a Coach, Money, and all else in his power, desired me to have a little patience, and told me he was very sorry my Lords—— and —— were in so bad a place, and arrested by the insolence of those *Picaros*, who should be exemplarily punished, and we receive all manner of satisfaction: the like I did to Don *Lewis de Haro*, and

and found the like civility. To make ſhort, my ſolicitations had ſuch effect, that the King appointed a Commiſſion to be diſpatched by the Council of *Caſtille* for an *Alguazil de Corte*, and a Secretary to go along with me to *Arcos* and bring *Franciſco Salazar* to the publick priſon of *Madrid* in order to his puniſhment, and an ampler Paſsport was given me that we might no more apprehend the like inconvenience.

The Alguazil and Secretary that were appointed to go with me, refuſed to travail by night, or to ride Poſt, ſo that I was fain to tarry till the 26th of *June*, and then return by Mule. Experience taught me, that this way of travailing, is very inconvenient; for, beſides that, for more expedition, the Mules always trot, one cannot expreſs how much their hard mouths preſs and weary the hand, nor what a torment it is, going down hill to ſuffer their ſlow progreſſion. Being thus excellently mounted, and in this honourable company; I neglected nothing towards my ſpeedy arriving at *Arcos*, whither I came the 29th of *June*, and found the Lord ——and——already advertiſed of the ſucceſs of my journey by a Letter from *Madrid*; I immediately carried the *Alguazil* and Secretary to execute their Commiſſion; the Alcalde was much ſurprized, but making uſe of his priviledge, as Knight of the Order of *St Iames*, refuſed to obey without a Mandate from the Council of the Orders. My *Alguazil* who was of the higher Order, and one of thoſe that are called *Alguazil de Corte*, often ſummoned him to

go along with him to *Madrid* as his priſoner, but he ſtill refuſed to obey, of which the *Alguazil* took witneſs, ſaying; he could not uſe force, becauſe that Town belonging to the Duke of *Medina Celi*, there was no *Corrigidor above* the *Alcalde*, but that this would undo the *Alcalde*, and that he doubted not to return from *Madrid* with power to carry him thither bound hands and feet; and we heard afterwards, that (as Spaniſh juſtice never pardons) he was puniſhed according to his deſerts; the reſt of the Officers of the Cuſtom-houſe ſeeing the bad condition of their Protector, were as compliable and civil as they had been arrogant and inſupportable: they returned all that belonged to us without the leaſt diminution, and they which before pretended to plunder us, and threatened that we ſhould pay for the tedious writings they had drawn, deſired now nothing more then to be quit, not only of us, but of the prey we had redeemed from their clutches: we had no leſs impatience to get from amongſt ſuch Raſcals, which that we might the ſooner do, we contented our ſelves, to recommend the puniſhment of them to thoſe other Harpies, who ſeldom ſuffer ſuch as they ſeiſe on to eſcape, giving them all damages and coſts we might pretend the more to incite them to our revenge.

As ſoon as freed from thoſe troubles, we made all haſte towards *Arragon*. Several parts of this *Province* are very agreeable, and when we had left the Mountains that incloſe *Arcos*, we came

came to very pleaſant Vallies, and the 29th of *June* in the evening, entred *Erizza* or *Herizo*, the firſt Town on that ſide of that kingdom: the next day we dined at *Texa*, that hath nothing remarkable, and lay at *Callatajud* one of the principle Cities of the Kingdom, ſeated at the end of a very fertile Plain, but in nothing conſiderable, unleſs in giving birth and abode to *Lorenzo Brachian Infanzon*, a modern writer, very famous amongſt the Spaniards; he hath publiſhed ſeveral Treatiſes of Morality and Policy, amongſt which, one is called *el Criticon*, of which, two parts only are printed, a kind of Satyr, very ingenious in imitation of *Barclais Euphormio*: in this piece his ſtile differs much very from thoſe ſmall Treatiſes in which he is ſo conciſe, abrupt, and ſtrangely laconick, one would think he had made it his buſineſs to be obſcure; the Reader muſt often divine his ſenſe, which found, he perceives an *enigma* hath been made of ſomething not very extraordinary. *Seneca* and *Taeitus* are very ſhort of him in this manner of writing, and if it be ſaid of the former, that his Stile is Sand without Lime, and that the ſecond is ſo myſterious, he contains more then he expreſſes: we may conclude that of *Gracian*, hath ſo little connexion in its periods and ſo much reſtraint in its words, that the conception is like a Diamond ill ſet, whoſe flame and luſter appear not, ſo that it looſes the eſteem of the better half of the work.

There lives in the ſame Kingdom another *Virtuoſo*, affecting like him the *Lacedemonian* eloquence,

eloquence, he is called *Vincencio Juan de Laſtinoſa*, by whoſe means moſt of the works of *Gracian* are printed. This *Laſtannoſa* is looked on as the moſt curious perſon of *Spain*; he dwels at *Hueſca*, the ſecond City of *Arragon*, where he is reported to have collected a Cabinet that is a very agreeable Theatre of Grecian and Roman antiquities; there are many Statues, Vaſes, Urnes, Arms, Precious Stones, antient Moneys, Medals and Rings; in which he is ſo well ſtudied, that he hath written a Treatiſe of the antient Moneys of *Spain*, which paſſes for exquiſite in its kind, and rare in its obſervations. The firſt of *July* having dined at *Ofranco* we lay at *Almunia*, ſeated in a fruitful valley, and yielding a fair proſpect on which ſide ſoever it is beheld: *Saragoſa* is but nine Leagues from it, and we intended to dine the next day at *la Muela*, and to arrive before the heat, but unhappily loſt our way on a great heath, without houſe, tree, buſh, or water; it extended even to the walls of *Saragoſſa*, without giving any opportunity to refreſh, or to avoid the Suns beams for 5 or 6 Leagues. It fell out well for us, that the day was not exceſſively hot, ſo that our ſufferings were not extreme, though ſome of the company were in no little choller, to ride ſo far without drawing bit, and complained no leſs then if they had traverſed the Sands of *Libia*, but it is folly to be troubled where no remedy can be had, and before our patience was quite tired, half a League ſhort of *Saragoſa* we came to a Brook, where we all alit

alit to refreſh our ſelves, and as nothing ſeems hard to a ſharp hunger, our vehement thirſt made that water (none of the beſt) to be drunk with pleaſure: we came at laſt to *Sarragoſſa* the capital City of *Arragon*, ſeated in a largely extended Plain; it is divided by the River *Ebro*, but the greateſt part of it on the ſide where we arrived. A little ſhort of it is an old Caſtle called *Alta Feria*; with a pitiful graft about it, we were told it had formerly bin a palace of their Kings, and was then of the Inquiſition. The Farmer of the Cuſtoms had Guards at the Gate, who hearing that our ſervants followed with our baggage, detained us not long: we deſired notice might be given them, that they ſhould know where we lodged at the houſe of one *Redmondon* a Merchant, for whom we had Letters of credit; we alit at his houſe and found him at dinner, he preſented us very good Wine, which refreſhed us, and reſtored the vigor the long journey and exceſſive heat had deprived us of; he afterwards brought us to the beſt Inn in the Town, where we had a fair and cool room, and to prevent our *Valiſes* being detained at the Cuſtom-houſe, whither they muſt of neceſſity be brought; I went to ſpeak with the Arrendador-General, and ſhew him our Paſs, which obliged him to be civil and to ſend us our baggage as ſoon as it came to him; we tarried here all day to repair our loſs of baiting at *la Muelan*; ſome of the company went to bed, others only caſting off their clothes,

ſhifted

ſhifted their Linnen. Monſieur —— who arrived laſt, was the moſt thirſty, though not the moſt weary, therefore he lay not down; but at his firſt coming in, drank ſo much water, and afterwards ſo much wine to correct its crudity, he became ſick, beſides too ſuddain an attempt to quench his thirſt; he walked long unbuttoned, and almoſt naked, not only about the houſe, but came to us in ſlippers and without doublet, where we were on the banks of *Ebro* that ran behind the Inn, where we ſucked a gentle gale that came down the river; on the morrow a Feavor took him which continued 5 or 6 days, and obliged us to tarry 10 in that City: ſoon after our arrival we viſited the Duke of *Monteleon*, Viceroy of this Kingdom; he is one of the greateſt Noblemen of *Naples*, of whom in the laſt revolution of that City, the Spaniards became jealous, though he had ſerved them advatagiouſly in the former: that they might no longer fear him they ſent for him into *Spain*, and that they might diſguiſe their diſtruſt, made him Viceroy of *Arragon*. This Charge is honourable, but not profitable, the King allowing but little, and the Kingdom bringing in leſs, neither is any thing ſplendid in his family; we delivered him the Kings Letter, and that of Don *Lewis*; having read them in our preſence, he made us offers of all that lay in his power: he ſeemed not to us of a Genius much elevated, whither his reſentments of the Spaniards ill uſage have dejected it, or whither he conceals a part, leaſt oſtentation of the whole might be prejudicial

dicial to him. Beſides the Viceroy, whoſe charge ceaſes every three years; here is a Governour of the City, or rather of the Countrey, ſince his power is reported principally to extend over it; this Charge is the more conſiderable becauſe for life.

Though the Viceroyalty and Government of *Saragoſſa* are the two great charges of this Kingdom, yet no authority is equal to that of the Chief Juſtice, called *El Juſticia,* to ſhew that he is to *do juſtice* in all and above all: ſo that he determines of what concerns the King, Kingdom, Subjects, Laws and Priviledges: but for the better underſtanding this, and that which I ſhall hereafter obſerve touching the great conteſtation here between high powers: it is neceſſary that I ſet down what I have been told concerning the Priviledges of this Kingdom.

After the Moors had entred *Spain*, on occaſion of the Injuiry done by *Don Rodrigo* to Comt *Don Julian* in perſon of his Daughter, called *la Cava*, whom he raviſhed, *Arragon* was the firſt Province that freed it ſelf from the yoke of the Infidels, and that finding not only the race, but memory of its ancient Kings totally extinct, by it ſelf, made a recovery of its ſelf, to it ſelf, without owning any Soveraign. But leſt they ſhould be a Body without a Head, and that they might enjoy ſecure repoſe in their new liberty, they ſoon after deliberated of electing a King, and caſt their eyes on a private Gentleman called *Garcia Ximenez*. It muſt yet be acknowledged that they made him rather

Prince

Prince or President of their State than their Soveraign; and in imitation of the *Spartans*, so much limited his authority, that that of *Theopompus* was not more streightned by the *Ephori*, than that of this King by the rules imposed upon him: and it being very easie to violate the most fundamental Laws of a State, when the supreme power is concerned so to do, if there be none with hazard of his life obliged to watch for their preservation, they established *El Justicia*, a Magistracy of which I have spoken, that who might fear nothing in the vigorous executing his charge, they ordered he should not be liable to condemnation either in person or goods on what accompt soever, but in the general Assembly of Estates called *las Cortes*, that is the King and Kingdom.

Having thus bound up him they should elect for their King, they made a Law called *de la Vajon*, which imported that as soon as the King infringed their Priviledges, it should be in their power to elect another, though a Pagan; and in case of wrong to any Vassal or Subject, the Nobility and most considerable of the Realm might assemble to protect him, and hinder any duties to be paid the King, till the party injured were indemnified, and the Priviledge re-established in its former validity. They erected *El Justicia* as Gardian of this Law, (with several others,) who for greater authority sate in a Chair with his hat on his Head, whilst the King bare and on his knees swore their Priviledges between his hands: afterwards they owned him as their King,

King, but in a very strange fashion; for instead of vowing fidelity, they told him *nos que valemos tanto como vos os hazemos nuestro Rey y Sennor, con tal que guardeis nuestros fueros y libertades, sino, no* : that is, We that are equal to you make you our King and Lord, on condition that you preserve our Laws and Liberties, and if not, not. This detestable fashion of owning a King so much disgusted *Don Pedro*, surnamed *the Dagger*, that partly by intreaty, partly by intrigue, and offering other Priviledges in the place of it, he caused it to be abolished in an Assembly of the Estates, and as soon as he got the Parchment in which the Law for it was written, voluntarily cutting his hand, he said; that a Law which imported that Vassals might elect and limit their King, was to be effaced with the blood of a King. *Ley de poder elegir Rey los Vassallos sangre de Rey avia de Costar*, these are reported to be the very words he pronounced, on which occasion the surname of *the Dagger* was given to him: His Statue is yet to be seen in *Saragossa*, in the Hall of Deputation, with the Dagger in one hand, and the Priviledge cancelled with his blood in the other. And indeed the sacred blood of Kings can on no accompt be better employed (no not against a forain Enemy) then in suppressing such exorbitant Priviledges of Subjects as destroy the very foundation of Monarchy.

Besides the two Priviledges I have mentioned, not at all regarded by later Kings, there is another still in force, called the Law of manifestation: by this every Subject that thinks himself

inju-

injured either in goods or perſon, by what Tribunal ſoever, may complain *a el Juſticia*, who is obliged to make an exact enquiry, and cauſe the Judge that hath given a corrupt ſentence to be puniſhed. This City at our being there was much diſcontented, becauſe endeavours were uſed to violate this Law. Two Judges were accuſed for a Sentence by which a certain Woman thought herſelf injured, who, according to cuſtome, deputed 500 Crowns, and complained of the Judges. The King, the Tribunal *d'el Juſticia*, the Viceroy, the Governor, and ſome others that ſought to augment the Authority of the Prince, and leſſen the Kingdoms Priviledges, took theſe Judges into their protection. The Party grieved finding ſhe could get no remedy, for the wrong ſhe pretended done to her ſelf and the Law, had recourſe *a las Cortes*, or the States of the Kingdom, who (though the Inquiſition favoured the Judges that were accuſed) deputed Commiſſioners called here *Judicantes*. Theſe are 9 perſons drawn from the four Bodies of *Arragon*, that is the higher Nobility intituled *Sennores*, the Clergy, the Gentry called *Hidalgos*, or *Cavalleros*, and the Cities. From the firſt of theſe Bodies three are taken, and from each of the other two they uſually make choice of the moſt illiterate to judge Gown-men, whether that it may be done without partiality, or that their Laws ought to be ſo plain, that even Peaſants and others the moſt ignorant may underſtand their equity, and judge if it hath been obſerved.

Theſe

These 9 Deputies or Commissaries condemned the Judges of injustice, and ordered them to be banished, and their Estates confiscated. This Sentence made great noise, and the Viceroy and Governor by order of the Court did their best to hinder its effect, nay the King himself writ to the *Justicia*. The People concerned themselves in the business, and Pasquils and Libels were every where cast abroad with menaces, should it not be put in execution. Countrey people flocked to the Town, entertaining themselves only with the violation of their Priviledges. Doubt that this affair going to extremity might cause great disorders, in a time when the War of *Catalonia* made the People of *Arragon* more fierce and hardie, caused the Viceroy and other favourers of the Judges, without any farther unseasonable mention of the Kings pleasure to suffer them to be dismist from their charges, and banished the Town. Were the like practised in all places, there would not be so many sentences given out of favor, passion, and interest, rather than according to law and equity, not distinguishable but in this one part of *Europe*, where the Judges are reported to tremble when they give sentence, fearing it may be their own condemnation, either as to body or goods, if unjust or erroneous in the least. Notwithstanding all this, justice here is soveraign; for though the Judge that hath determined amiss be punished, the Sentence he hath pronounced remains in full efficacy: so that he which accuses his Judge hath only the satisfacti-

on of revenge, and ſerves the Publick rather than himſelf, by preſerving the Peoples Priviledges, in proſecuting him that hath done wrong, and putting other Judges in mind of their duties. He that is found to have accuſed his Judge without cauſe only loſes the 500 Crowns he depoſitated, and though it appear he have reaſon, recovers little more, which in that caſe is levied on the Eſtate of the unjuſt Judge. The baniſhment of thoſe two Judges freed *Saragoſſa* from apprehenſion of troubles, the People, by execution of the Sentence, ſatisfying themſelves, that at that time no attempt would be made upon their Priviledges.

Had we continued longer at *Sarragoſſa* we might have ſeen a Ceremony obſerved in beheading Murtherers; for he which hath ſlain a man face to face, receives the ſtroke that beheads him before; but ſuch as treacherouſly came behind him are puniſhed in the ſame manner: this is only for diſtinction ſake, for probably the blow behind gives leſs pain to the Criminal than that before. Whilſt we ſojourned in this Town we received many civilities from *Dom Pedro Miranda*, born at *Oleron* in *Bearn*, and one of the richeſt Bankers of this Town. We had Letters of credit to him, of which though we made no uſe, he did us all manner of good offices, every day ſending us his Coach, and ſometimes accompanying us to what was moſt remarkable. The Buildings here are large and high, and generally fairer than in *Madrid*: there is one long and broad Street where the

Tour

Tour is made as at *Madrid* in the *Calle Major*. The moſt conſiderable houſe belongs to the Duke of *Villa Hermoſa*, who pretends to deſcend from the ancient Kings of *Arragon*, and thinks they which enjoy the Crown do him wrong.

To ſpeak generally of the humor of the People of *Arragon*, they are no leſs proud than the *Caſtilians*, and value themſelves above them and all other of *Spain*; and it muſt be granted that they are equal to, and ſometimes ſurpaſs the moſt of them in wit, whether applied to good or evil. Their ſoil is barren, and, excepting ſome Valleys and ſuch parts to which the waters of *Ebro* are conveyed by cut Channels to moiſten it, all ſand, heath and rock, ſo that it hardly affords corn to ſuſtain its Inhabitants. Though ſo little fertil in fruits it hath ever produced gallant men, and from their firſt King to *Ferdinand* they reckon not one that made not himſelf conſiderable to his Neighbours, either by his wit or courage: that laſt above all other was ſo prodigious in the art of reigning, and vaſt ambition ill ſuited to the narrow limits of his little Kingdom, that he endeavoured to extend them, and did ſo even from the foot of the *Pireneans* to the Streights of *Gibralter*. That ſucceſs with ſome other put him upon the deſign of an univerſal Monarchy, and his Succeſſors are ſtill accuſed to retain the Intrigue and Model of it, which he then imparted to his Grandchild, who was to be Heir of ſo many Provinces, and in his own perſon unite the many Dominions, that when ſingle had been

ſo formidable to their Neighbours: Beſides which he had the wealth of a new World to facilitate his enterpriſe, and aſſiſt towards eſtabliſhing ſo vaſt an Empire, as had never been known before. It is true, ſome of the curious ſay, that to pretend he had a thought of this, is to accuſe him of a Chimera; but that famous *Arragonian*, who hath given us a contracted draught of his Politicks, tells us *Parecieronle a Ferdinando Eſtrechos ſus hereditarios Reynos de Arragon para ſus dilatados deſſeos, y aſſi anhelo ſiempre a la grandeza y anchura de Caſtilla, y de alli a la Monarquia de toda Eſpanna y aun a la univerſal de entrambos mundos*; which is to ſay, *The vaſt deſigns of* Ferdinando *being too much confined in his hereditary Realms of* Arragon; *he firſt aimed at* Caſtille, *then at the Monarchy of all* Spain, *and at laſt of both worlds.* He was not for all this any great Captain; neither was this ambition the effect of valor, living in a time when wit and policy bore more ſway then courage. He made uſe of the politicks of *Lewis* the XI. of *France*, the induſtry of Pope *Alexander* the VI, the ſubtilty of *Lodowick Storza*, Duke of *Milan*, the vigilance of *Henry* the VIII. of *England*, and prudence of the Emperor *Maximilian* the I. All their diſſimulation and all their cunning he put into ſo good a cruicible, that he ſeparated what was ſolid from what was airy, diſcovering what was ſtrong and what weak in them, and extracting ſuch an eſtabliſhment for himſelf and ſucceſſors, that *Philip the* II had great reaſon, when looking on his Picture, he ſaid;

We

We owe this man all. Spaniſh writers are tranſported when they ſpeak of the grandeur of their Royal Family, ſome of them even to impiety, and a modern Author ſays of it, *Caſa que eſcogio dios en la ley de Gracia, aſſi como la de Abraham en la Eſcrita, para Llamarſe dios de Auſtria, Dios de Rodolpho, de Philippo e de Ferdinando.* A Family elected by God in the new Law, as the ſeed of *Abraham* in the old, that he might call himſelf the God of *Auſtria*, the God of *Rodolphus*, of *Philip*, and of *Ferdinand.*

But to return to the people, amongſt whom this dextrous Prince was born, and whom the Polititians equalize to *Tiberius* and *Lewis* the XI of *France*, for a third Idol of their *Ragione di Stato*; I muſt add, that they are nothing hoſpitable nor civil to ſtrangers. Their lofty humour is not allaied with ſo much affability as that of the *Caſtilians*, and it is from this Province, that the Highway-men they call *Vandaleros* ſpred themſelves even into *Caſtille*, making the Roads very unſafe; perhaps, by reaſon of its being ſo near a neighbor to the war, its inhabitants incline more to Arms then other Spaniards; the Gentry certainly pretends to an effectual Gallantry, by continual proteſtations, they are ambitious of nothing ſo much as drawing their ſwords in their Kings ſervice: neither are they free from the Rodomontados natural to all Spaniards, and I was told that a young Gentleman having mounted himſelf, with all advantages his purſe would reach to, to go in-

to *Catalonia*, and serve a Campagnia, pleased himself above a Month in riding about the streets of *Saragossa*, sometimes on one horse, sometimes on another; and meeting any that commended his Horses, his Arms, or his own activity; he asked whither with such an equipage and arms as his, it were not easie to draw the Frenchmens teeth: *con estas armas y esto Braço no se sacaran las muelas a los Gavachos?* He no sooner arrived in *Catalonia*, but he met an opportunity of shewing his courage, but was so unfortunate, he was at first wounded both in his arm and leg, which last was for ever lamed, and he ever since called the Tooth-drawer. In the mean time if the war have in some manner incomoded this kingdom, it hath made it richer, for the passage of the forces and rendezvous of Ammunition have caused the Kings money to Roll up and down in its chief Cities; and having particular priviledges, and not governing it self according to the Courts Orders, but its own customs, notwithstanding the war with *France*, it ever kept up a Trade beyond the Mountains; and the Merchants of *Oleron*, *Tholouse*, and other parts of *Bearn* and *Languedoc*, pass and repass freely, as well to *Saragossa* as the adjacent quarters, nay the greatest part of the Banquiers of *Saragossa* are of those Countries. It is true they are concerned to make no noise of this, nor to do any thing that may give the least occasion of falling upon them; for being known to be rich, Justice looks on them as a prey she would be glad to have pretence to seise on. *Don Pedro Miranda*

randa is one of the moſt ſplendid of theſe, and beſt ſupported, having married a Wife very well allied in this Country. He is the moſt curious perſon in *Saragoſſa*, and by every Ordinary receives the Gazets of *Paris*, and other written intelligence, but communicates them not except to particular friends. He told us that at the time of the Siege of *Arras*, there came an Order from *Madrid* to the Magiſtrate of this Town, to make preparations for a publick rejoycing for taking a place of ſo great importance. None doubting to hear very ſodainly of its ſurrender, Scaffolds were begun to be erected for a fight of Bulls; before which were half finiſhed, *Miranda* by a particular Letter underſtood that *Arras* had been relieved: but not daring to publiſh ſuch bad news, he (with admiration) ſaw that work go on, yet could not imagine but the Viceroy and other of the principal Inhabitants had the ſame intelligence with him, though they prepared for a triumph before a Victory. A while after, and when all was ready for the Feſtival, the Viceroy received a Letter from *Madrid* that the Siege of *Arras* had failed, who ſending for the Governor and Magiſtrates of the Town, when he ſhewed them his Letter, they were not a little ſurpriſed, and for their better ſatisfaction ſummoned *Miranda*, who acknowledged that beſides that one of his correſpondents in *Paris* had acquainted him with it eight dayes before, he had then with the Gazets, received a Print which gave all the particulars. One of the Magiſtrates grew very angry and ready to affront

front him, that he had not advertiſed them to prevent the unneceſſary charge, and their being laughed at by the people, threatning that he ſhould be made to pay the four or five hundred pound it had coſt the Town. But the Viceroy, and ſuch as were more moderate, pacified that man, and ſent away *Miranda* without ever after troubling him about it. The people in the mean time ſeemed more concerned for pulling down the Scaffolds erected for the Feſtival, than for the failing in recovery of *Arras*.

After we had ſojourned eight dayes at *Saragoſſa* and reſolved to return into *France* rather by *Navarre* than *Catalonia*, where, as was reported, was neither ſafety nor convenience for travailers, we took leave of the Duke of *Montelion*, who gave us a Letter for the Earl of *St. Stephen*, Viceroy of *Navarre*: the 10th of *July* we went away, and lodged at *Halagon*, a poor Village. A Factor of *Miranda* called *Bertrand* ſerved us as Guide in this Journey, and we had in our company a Spaniard, a man of parts and good fellow according to that Countries mode. He travailed in a very pleaſant equipage; according to the faſhon of *Spain*; his Valiſa he carried before him on the pummel of his Saddle, leaning upon it, at each ſide and on his thighs hung his Wallet of proviſions, inſtead of Holſters two leathern Caſes contained two bottles of wine, cooled by ice he put in every time he filled them: for which reaſon ſuch caſes of leather are called *Refreadores*. Every league or half league he drew out a bottle, and very civilly invited

vited us to refreſh our ſelves with his wine, which when we excuſed he made uſe of *Bertrand* (better accuſtomed to ſuch debauches than we) to bear him company. He told us many pleaſant ſtories, but I have forgot all but two gallantries of the Duke of *Oſſuna*, ſo famous for wit and humour, when Viceroy of *Naples*. One day, he ſaid, to revenge himſelf of a Widow that had been ſomething cruel to him, and who, he yet knew, was not ſo to every body, he cauſed a certain Frier ſuſpected to be well with her, and that was believed the conſolation of her Widowhood, to be watched: As ſoon as he knew he was in her houſe, he came, and with his Gards inveſted it, commanding the door to be opened, for a ſearch that was important to the Kings ſervice: it was late in the night, yet the Servants were ſo much ſurpriſed, that they let him in whileſt the Monk was with their Lady, without giving her any notice. He tarried rallying with her all night, and about 8 in the morning cauſed the reverend Frier to be taken up behind a Trooper, a Trumpet going before, which was to make a ſtand at every turning, and after ſounding to point him out and ſay: whoever ſtand in need of a Frier to comfort Widows at midnight, let them addreſs themſelves to this Gallant, and they ſhall be accommodated; afterwards he ſent from Cloyſter to Cloyſter to enquire which of them had loſt a Frier, and when diſcovered, returned him to his Abbot, who was to be intreated at his going to bed to take with him the Key of that good fellows Cell, leaſt he

he might wander another time. His other ſtory was, that three Curteſans living at *Naples* ſo exceſſively proud they hardly bowed when they met him, he cauſed them one day to be invited to a Collation; they failed not to come dreſt to all advantages, but with difference, as well in that as in their beauties, though alike proud; ſo that they played the Queens with this Viceroy, who received them very civily; but perceiving they became nothing more humble, he obliged them to undreſs themſelves on pretence of heat, and being two much ſtreightned in their clothes, afterwards cauſing many Comfits to be ſcatteied in the Chamber, he made them gather them up without quitting their Chioppins, whilſt with a Trunck he ſhot the ſugar pellets ſometimes at one, ſometimes at another. The Father of this Spaniard had been the Dukes Servant, and he told us many ſuch tales, which I ſhall not trouble my ſelf to repeat, they not deſerving it no more then theſe, which I have ſet down only to diſcover the Genius of this Nation, very much taken with trifles and frothy relations. Beſides ſuch Gallant Stories which they call *Dounoſas*, or conceits, they have others that they ſtile Heroick, amongſt which are reckoned all the Sentences of *Ferdinand*, Apothegms of *Charles* the fifth, and Reparties of *Philip* the ſecond: thoſe of *Charles* the fifth they ſay imply Courage, of *Philip* the ſecond Prudence, of *Philip* the third Piety, and of *Philip* the fourth Love; but their greateſt eſteem is for thoſe of *Philip* the ſecond, whom

whom they take to have been a Prince of the quickeſt and ſublimeſt fancy: amongſt many other teſtimonies of which, they with admiration report this of his wit and liberality. A certain Portugheſe having brought to his Court a Diamond of great value, immediately looked on by the Courtiers as the richeſt Miracle the Eaſt had ever produced, he not at all moved, beheld it with indifference, which the Portugheſe perceiving, ſaid, *Sennor ſetenta mille ducados que abrevie en eſte digno nieto del ſol no ſon de aſquear: Sir, ſeventy thouſand Ducats which I have contracted in this worthy offſpring of the ſun are not contemptible*; the King pleaſed in his confidence, asked what he thought when he laid out ſo much upon it, and the crafty Portugheſe anſwered. *That there was a Philip the ſecond.* This ſublety or flattery was ſo agreeable, that *Gracian* who relates it in his *Hero*, adds that the King immediately not only paid for the Diamond, but gave him more. *Oſtendando* (ſayes he) *la ſuperioritad de ſu guſto en el precio y en el premio*, manifeſting the height of his ſatisfaction in the price and in the reward. The jollity of this Spaniard, who travailed to *Biſcai*, hath made me forget to follow my own way; but having omitted nothing of what I ſaw or heard, the follies I have now ſet down may paſs amongſt the reſt. He will give me no farther occaſion of digreſſion; for we parted at *Tudela*, a pretty Town, but as ſtanding on the Frontiers of *Caſtile*, *Arragon*, and *Biſcay*, a Neſt of Rogues and Banditi, that have forſaken their Country to eſcape the puniſhment due to

their

their crimes ; yet in ſome parts of it there are fair buildings, which makes us believe it is inhabited by ſome people of quality amongſt the exiles. At our going away the Guards pretended to ſtop us, but ſeeing our Paſsport durſt not perſiſt. We were told that the Cardinal *de Rets*, after he had eſcaped out of *France*, paſſing from St. *Sebaſtians* to the Kingdom of *Valentia*, where he intended to embark for *Italy*, was ſtayed and very ſtreightly garded in this City. He came in a Litter with a ſmall Train, and the Alcalde who was then walking on the Bridge, ſent to demand who he was, but he unwilling to be known, refuſed to tell his name and quality, upon which the Alcalde ſet a Guard upon him in the Inn where he alighted. This ſurpriſed him, and he knew not what to think of ſuch uſage in a Countrey where he thought he had ſecured the liberty lately recovered, and that he ſhould not have loſt it as ſoon as he began to relliſh it : he therefore diſpatched one of his Servants to *Pampeluna*, with a letter of his arrival to the Viceroy, deſiring him to puniſh the inſolence of that Judge, and deliver him out of his hands : The Alcalde in the mean time ſent to the Viceroy and Council of *Navarre* a formal Narrative of what he had done, according to the duty of his place, hoping ſo to avoid the blame might be laid upon him; for having acted rather on account of humor and curioſity, then reaſon and judgment : then he had no other advantage by his Letter, than the preventing the Cardinals enlargement one day, becauſe the Viceroy

Viceroy was obliged to aſſemble the Council of *Navarre*, where the puniſhment of the Alcaldes inſolence was reſolved on, and he turned out of his place, and for ſome time baniſhed the Town, where the Cardinal as ſoon as known received many civilities, and at his going away was attended by the principal Inhabitants with all reſpect and honour. At that time came news that the *French* had ſtormed the lines, and beaten the *Spaniards* from before *Arras*, but he maintained ſo effectually that this was impoſſible, that he left in all places where he came a contrary impreſſion, which continues ſtill amongſt thoſe people. *Pedro Miranda*, or ſome that belonged to him, being then at *Tudela*, ſhewed him Letters of it received from *Paris*, but he perſiſted. One may eaſily perceive he endeavoured to cajole the *Spaniards* by this flattery, not at all concerned that time would deſtroy it. provided it obtained him the better reception in his paſſage, and made them ſenſible that he had intirely engaged himſelf in their intereſts.

The 12th of *July* we dined at *Laboroſſo*, and traverſed *Olitor*, where the antient Kings of *Navarre* kept their Court, and ſomething of their Palace ſtill remains, though the Town be now a miſerable Place, ruined by warrs between the true Inheritors of the Crown, and ſuch as invaded them; we lay at *Teſſalia*, a good Town, and its Territory more fertil than the reſt we had paſſed. Next day we came to *Pampeluna*, the capital City of that Kingdom, it ſtands at the end of a large Plain that ſeems but barren;

it

it is near the *Pireneans*, yet out of command of any eminence. Its Citadel, ſo famous in the world, looks towards the Plain, and is on one ſide environed by a great Marais. The Town is not conſiderably fortified, and the ground it ſtands on hath many little riſings and deſcents ſcarcely perceptible: there is a large Piazza where the Bulls are fought. The people are clowniſh, much addicted to ſmall Traffick, which they freely enough exerciſe with *France*, and as if there were no war between the two Crowns: We arrived at the end of a Fair, and met many French Merchants: we tarried here three dayes as well becauſe of the indiſpoſition of my Lord —— not well recovered of the Fevor he got at *Saragoſſa* as that one of our horſes were lame. The mean while we viſited the Earl of *St. Stephen*, Viceroy and Captain General of this Kingdom. and delivered him the Letter we brought for him; he is a little man very civil, and no leſs curious of all rarities. He received us well, and ordered the Captain of his Guards to ſhew us the Citadel in the afternoon. Between the Town and Citadel is a ſpacious place ſet with trees for Walks: it hath five Baſtions, and was built by *Philip* the ſecond with a great deal of conſideration, as a ſtrong Rampier againſt *France*: the Baſtions are covered with Stone, the Grafts large, in moſt parts of them water; it hath no Outworks, neither doth it need any, becauſe of the Marais on that ſide where it may moſt eaſily be attacked: it ſtands on a Rock, but though the moſt important place of the Kingdom,

dom, and the only one that can hinder the *French* from marching to *Madrid*, after they have paſſed the *Pyreneans*, it is not well looked after. The works in many places want reparations, and the Garriſon is very inconſiderable, there being few Souldiers, for want of which the Country people are to come in on the firſt ſummons: of whom they then had ſent for a good number, and mixed them with the Souldiers, that we might not perceive that want: but we could eaſily diſtinguiſh, ſo little had they the meen of Sword-men, ſome of them not wearing any, and parading with a Musket only, or an old Pike, which they handled ſo ill, it appeared they were more accuſtomed to the Pitch-fork. The Body of the place is well deſigned, for in the middle of the Bracks where the Souldiers lodge, there is a great round place to draw up in Battaglia, from whence by five broad ſtreets they may march ſtreight to the five Baſtions.

They ſhewed us the Magazins not very well furniſhed either with ammunition or victual, and a very fair Towr built to keep powder, of which it is altogether unprovided, and ſerves for a priſon for greateſt Criminals; they ſhewed a very fine Handmill for turning which they may alſo make uſe of horſes. It is the beſt Engin in its kind that I have ſeen, it hath 4 or 5 Wheels and as many Bins, in each of which they ſaid they could in one day grind 24 load of Corn: but this I thought impoſſible. I told them that ſo great a Body compoſed of ſo many different pieces, could hardly move long without being diſordered,

dered, and conſequently uſeleſe, and that unleſs the Artiſt that made it laſted as long as the Mill, nothing amiſs in it could be amended, becauſe I took it to be a particular invention, and that none but himſelf knew the Fabrick, and all the Springs, ſo as to ſet them right when broken; but they replied they ſucceſſivly kept one that underſtood it, who, that they might never be deſtitute, ſtill taught ſome Apprentice. Here are two or three Ponds, as they ſay, derived from Springs. There were not many Sentries on the Rampart, nor at the Canon. It hath a particular Governor, that immediately depends on the King: He was abſent, but we were very civily received by his Lieutenant, who after he had led us about the Walls gave us a Collation; his frankneſs pleaſed us, and we perceived that as by degrees we got farther from the Gravity of *Caſtile*, and ſeverity of *Arragon*, as little open to one another as to Strangers, we approached a more ſociable Country.

Nothing elſe being to be ſeen in the Caſtle, that we might not treſpaſs on the Lieutenants civility, nor tire that of the Viceroys Captain of his Gard, we took leave of the firſt, expreſſing our ſatisfaction in his reception, and went with the other to our Coach. Next day we returned thanks to the Viceroy, and finding him at leiſure, had opportunity to diſcourſe with him more particularly than at our firſt viſit. Being a knowing perſon, and one of the Councils of State and Warre, he preſently fell upon the Govern-

Government of the Low-Countries, making it appear he underſtood thoſe affairs very well. He told us afterwards that the Earl of *Pigneranda* was his near Kinſman, and we could do no leſs than expreſs the eſteem we had for ſo accompliſhed a perſon, one of the ableſt Miniſters of *Spain*, and to whom we had eſpecially been recommended; ſo we took our leaves. The 15th in the Morning when we were about to take horſe, that we might get that night to the laſt Village of the King of *Spains* Dominions in the upper *Navarre*, a Servant of the Viceroys Captain of his Guards came to enquire, if his Maſters Gloves, which he thought he left in our Chamber the day before, had been found: we ordered ſearch to be made every where, and ſent him with my Lord ——s *valet de Chambre*; but having long looked for what had never been loſt he went away, and by his meen and comportment made us well enough comprehend, he came not on that account, but to try, if we would ſend him ſome pairs of thoſe perfumed ones we had in our Valiſes, and that were mentioned in our Paſſes: but none being deafer than they which will not hear, we let him go, without ſeeming to underſtand him. But this ſerved not our turn; for thinking we were not ingenious enough to do ſo, he ſent back his man with a very bad compliment, in plain terms to beg *de los noſtros guantes de Ambar*. We were amazed at this, and our Valiſes being on the Horſes, and our ſelves ready to mount, let him ſee how troubleſome it would be to take them off, and open

them, but that if he pleaſed we would write to our Merchant in *Madrid* to ſend him as many pair as he deſired. We thus freed onr ſelves with all dexterity poſſible, not thinking we had done any thing contrary to civility, ſince he that demands too boldly, and without conſideration, ought to take to himſelf the greateſt part of the ſhame of a refuſal. Having thus got out of *Pampelone*, we took the great Road of the *Pyreneans* that leads to *France*. We were not far from the Town ere we began to aſcend a hill, and before we came to the next Village met ſome Souldiers that belonged to the Garriſon of the Caſtle, who begged, which ſurpriſed me, for though the King of *Spain* wants money, yet he never meddles with the forty thouſ nd Crowns they ſay the Kingdom of *Navarre* brings up, and I have been aſſured that all that is levied, though it exceed the ſum I have ſpoken of, remains in the Country to pay the Viceroy, who hath a Salary of 10 thouſand Crowns (though he of *Arragon* hath but ſix) for the entertainments of a Preſident and ſix Counſellors, and maintaining his Forts and Gariſons.

They which know this kingdom, averr that the King of *Spain* receives no advantage from it, beſides the ſecuring and extending his frontiers, even to the Pyreneans, the true and natural barricade God hath placed between *France* and *Spain*: yet were the Taxes levied here as in *Caſtille*, he might draw ſomething. But the priviledges the people of *Navarre* reſerved to themſelves, and the conſideration that

if

if they ſhould rebel, they might poſſibly return to the obedience of their natural Prince, for whom yet they have inclinations, ſon is the reaſon they are not preſſed with Taxes; ſo that the certaineſt Leavies for ſupport of the publick charge come from the Cuſtome, and are reported to be 24 thouſand Crowns; but the avarice and deceit of thoſe that finger the Money, raiſed there for maintaining the Gariſons that ought to be better paid then any others in *Spain*, reduce the poor ſoldiers to beggery, and cauſe the Kings ſervice to be ſo much neglected, that were an Army ſent thither, it would probably make very great progreſſion. It is true, that if we except the inconveniences they would give the King of *Spain*, there is not expectation enough of advantages from that Quarter to cauſe the beſt Troops to be ſent thither, which might more profitably be imployed in *Flanders*, *Milan*, or *Catalonia*.

Before our arrival at *Burguette*, we rather baited then dined at a pitiful village, where the Guardian looked on our Paſſes with a great deal of civility, and diſcourſed with us of the times in which he had ſerved in *Flanders* un- Marquis *Spinola*. Having traverſed Woods, Hills, and Valleys with ſometimes good ſometimes bad way; we arrived in the evening at the Plain of *Roncevalles*, famous for the great battle *Charlemain*, fought, and loſt in it, againſt the Sarazens. My Lords —— and —— ſpurring on, got to *Burguette* before it was dark: They had much

ado to find lodging, and were fain to adreſs themſelves to the Juſtice, who ordered them to be entertained in the houſe where we paſſed the night. The next day being the 6th of *July*, without much ſuffering by heat in ſo wide a Plain, encompaſſed by the *Pyreneans*, we traverſed it and by ſome Merchants of *Oleron* that often paſs it, were ſhewed the place where the battle was fought; here ſaid they *Roland* was killed, notwithſtanding the force of his Lance; where this Croſs ſtands, died the brave *Renaldo*, and had we been curious of all that tradition, true or falſe, had taught them, I believe they would have pointed out to us where every one of the 12 Peers of *France* fell, and perhaps have ſhewed us ſome of their blood, for that of *Hero*'s never periſhes, and they went about to perſwade us, that one place is ſtill Red with it; but we, whoſe curioſity never went ſo low as to buſie it ſelf about dumb objects, looked on thoſe things only as we paſſed by, and went not a ſtep out of our way to taſte the air where they ſaid ſo great perſons had rendred, or vomited, the prodigious ſouls that animated bodies ranked amongſt the antient Giants. Spurred on by impatience to be quickly beyond the *Pyreneans*, we haſted over this Romantick or Hiſtorical Valley; Coming to the end of it, we found a Mountain, to whom it gives the name of *Roncevalles*; we were told this was the higheſt of the *Pyreneans*, yet there was no ſnow on the top of it, though moſt of the other on our right hand had hoary heads;

but

but notwithſtanding this, it ſeemed to approach nearer Heaven then thoſe that wore its Livery; and that it changed colour betimes, and in the beginning of the ſummer, by reaſon of the ſeas neighbourhood; the acrimony of whoſe vapors aids to melt and diſſipate its ſnow ſooner then that of ſuch as are more remote. When we were at the heighth of the Mountain of *Roncevalles*, *Egregia contemplatione pavimus animum*; and we pauſed to conſider, on the one hand *Spain*, that we had juſt then abandoned, and on the other *France*, which we were about to enter. The firſt ſeemed a ſcorched Campania, where the bald Mountains diſcovered only naked Rocks, and concealed few Plains or Vallies that bore graſs, or any thing elſe that is uſeful. The later on the contrary preſented us a Garden, where Nature had diſpoſed eminencies and depreſſions, Plains, Hills, Woods, and Valleys, to boaſt variety on a fair Theater of univerſal fertility, ſo plentiully ſowed, that the Land we ſaw, though none of the beſt of *France*, was ſurprizingly delightful, as ſoon as compared with that we had left. To conclude, without hyperbole or exaggeration, and in a plain manner of deſcribing things as they really are, I muſt declare, that contemplating two ſo different objects; me thought that in the one the day of judgement would find little unburnt; and that in the other, the flames which ſhall celebrate the worlds Funeral, would be laſt extinguiſhed, becauſe it ſeemed the fire of Heaven had already fallen on the firſt, and almoſt roſt-

ed it; and that to the other, it had imparted only a cheriſhing warmth to animate it: and the *Italian* perhaps had reaſon, who vexed at the Doctors that diſputed about the ſeat of Purgatory, ſaid, he wondred men of learning ſhould be ſo ignorant, for had they underſtood Maps, they would have placed that of *Europe* in *Spain*, and that of *Africk* in *Lybia*. I ſhall not determine whither he ſpoke ſenſe, or raved, but only add, that what I have ſaid of the difference of theſe two proſpects; takes not off my eſteem for *Spain*, nor hinders my admiring the wiſdom, temperance, prudence, and other moral and political virtues, that are eminent in the greateſt part of the men it produces: it is not therefore out of contempt of the one, or too elevated an *Idea* of the other, that I regiſter the difference I obſerved: I know very well that the fatteſt ſoils are not ever moſt beneficial, neither do they always produce the greateſt perſonages. The ableſt of all the Grecians was born amongſt the rocks of *Ithaca*; and in *Provence* there is a certain nook, called *la Crau*, covered with Flint, whith its Lord will not exchange for any other that abounds with Fruits and Flowers, becauſe in that very ſeat of barrenneſs there grows an herb of ſuch virtue, that one twig of it is worth many handfuls of thoſe of the moſt luxurious meddows; this makes appear, that fruits of perfecteſt ſavor often abound in the defectiv'ſt ſoils, and that though *Spain* be lean and dry, ſhe is yet ſtrong and vigorous: and experience teaches, that the

Spaniards

Spaniards are ſtouter and more capable of great fatique, then ſuch as are born in more pleaſant and plentiful Countreys, and even amongſt themſelves, the moſt couragious Races flouriſh amongſt Rocks and Mountains, and in the ſandieſt Provinces; the other being inhabited by perſons neither of ſo warlike ſpirits, nor elevated fancies, puſillanimity being almoſt always the companion of fertility; and the Romans were ſcarce ever more put to it, then in the conqueſt of this nation; its invincible courage, the difficulty of paſſage, ſcarſity of Proviſions, and exceſs of heat, predominating, almoſt through the whole peniuſula, reſiſted them Sixſcore years; neither could it in leſs time be overcome in our age, were it ſtill as populous as formerly.

But ere I give over, and that I may do *Spain* right before I looſe the ſight of it; I muſt obſerve that this ſterility and penury objected againſt it, is not cauſed ſo much by the default (if I may ſo ſpeak) of the Countrey, as by that of its inhabitants; were they more induſtrious, and inſtead of feeding themſelves with ſmoak and vanity in their wretched Cabins, tilled better their Land, and contemned not mechanick Arts, ſhe would be a liberal mother of all things neceſſary for life, whither to cloath or feed them, and they might have Corn, Wine, Oyl, and all manner of fruits, to ſuffice them, without being beholding to their neighbors; and did they underſtand Husbandry, or would apply themſelves to it, it would maintain them in ſuch abundance, that not only the more fertile

Provinces would ſupply the ſterility of ſome that are barrener, but they might vent part to forrainers, wools of *Segovia*, Silks of *Grenada*, Cordovans of *Ciudad Rodrigo*; the Flax and Hemp of *Andaluſia*; the Iron and Copper of *Biſcai*, with many other rich diſpoils of its Cattle, Land, and Mines, might croud its Cities with Artificers, and fill them with the beſt manufactures of *Europe*; but they ſend theſe abroad unwrought, which when Forrainers have metamorphoſed and diſpoſed to humane uſe, part return to them from thoſe who double the money they firſt paid for them.

I have now paſſed the *Pyreneans*, and top of the high mountain that ſeparates *France* from *Spain*, and whilſt I contemplated thoſe two great Kingdoms, having ventured to compare their Climates, and contract as in one maſs all the remarks of my journey; I will conclude by ſetting againſt each other the cuſtoms and politicks of this neighbouring people; no leſs contrary then the motions that cauſe fire to mount and earth to deſcend. Whilſt I ſtayed at *Madrid* I uſed my utmoſt endeavor to diſcover; if the antipathy reported to be ſo natural and reciprocal, were really and ſubſtantially as ſtrong as it ſeems, and is imagined, but I found that the contrariety attributed to their humors, and comportment, whither publick or private, proceeds rather from ſeveral tempers and Genius's, then any true and real antipathy that renders the French more incompatible with Spaniards, then with Engliſhmen, Germans, Italians, or any other

ther nations every one of which hath its particular character and ſpecifick impreſſion, as well in body as mind, which may (if I be permitted the expreſſion) be called its principle of diſtinction. If beſides this common and general variety, proceeding from the Air we firſt breath, there be any more expreſs and formal between one people and another; it is cauſed by ſome accidents, conjunctures or other circumſtances, which as to contempt and hatred have the ſame influence on nations as on particular perſons, who (that excepted) have no more of contrariety then two Rivers that run different courſes, and ever follow their Channel with equal inclination, though not always with the ſame impetuoſity. This granted, I averre, that beſides competition of power and State of Rivalſhip, in which theſe people have ſo long continued, and which have been animated by many wars and differences not yet reconciled or ended, no antipathy can be obſerved between them, more then each of them hath with all others: and when theſe conſiderations have bern removed, and the cauſes of averſion of State for State, and publick animoſities have ceaſed they have lived as well one with another, as either of them hath done with other forrainers. My ſelf have ſeen very many French inhabiting *Madrid*, and *Saragoſſa*, who not concerning themſelves in the intereſt of their Countrey, agree very well with the Spaniards; and the Catalonians and Portugueſes give convincing teſtimonies of this verity. All the world knows that theſe renouncing

cing the Catholick Kings Dominion, and abjuring, with the fealty they owed him, all the misteries of the Spaniſh Monarchy, there followed ſo great confidence and correſpondence between them and *France*, that notwithſtanding difference of humors, they have reciprocally been as well received and looked upon at *Paris* and *Lisbon* as they could be at *Stockholme* or *Warſovia*, where I ſuppoſe no man will imagin any antipathy for either of them: the former of theſe wheeled a little more, and caſt themſelves into the arms of *France*, the difference of cuſtomes and inclinations not preventing their correſponding as well as *Spaniards*, *Neapolitans* and *Flemings*. It is onlly ſince that emulation of glory, which begun with the advancement of the Spaniſh Empire under *Ferdinand*, increaſed under the *Charles* the fifth, and continued under his Succeſſors, that theſe people cannot brook one another either in publick or particular, and that have added to the difference of their tempers and natures, a ſpirit of envy, hatred, and contempt, which make them incompatible. For one of them is not only reſerved and ſpeculative, but impatient of the gay and ſociable humor of the other; one of them is not only ſlow and dilatory, but cannot ſuffer the others activity and brisk temper; one of them is not only ſatisfied to walk as if he counted his ſteps, but cannot abide the others negligent and interrupted gate: one of them does not only ſalute by leaning backwards, but ſcoffs at the other when he bows to do it. In a word one of

them hath neither humor nor cuſtom that diſpleaſes not the other, and which he blames not out of the principles of jealouſie and ambition I have formerly mentioned.

Theſe different qualities cauſed and heightened by that emulation of grandeur, and thirſt of precedence, that hath ſo long tormented them, and coſt Chriſtendom ſo much blood, are the ſourſes of the diverſity of their Politicks. Notwithſtanding all which one of them ſometimes borrows ſomething of the nature and qualities of the other, and imitates ſome of its moſt ſubtil tracings; but the hand and pencil ever differ: neither is it poſſible ſo to ſettle other mens clothes on our own backs, that it will not be diſcovered they were not made for us. There is ever ſomething in their manner of acting, which makes apparent its principles are no more the ſame then its agents. They which have read the famous conteſt between Pope *Paul* the fifth and the *Venetians*, and obſerved the forms and ends of thoſe great Potentates, for glory and intereſt, may find a manifeſt proof of this verity. It is moſt certain that in their Politicks they now and then tread in one anothers footſteps; but it is more ſo, that their pace is never equal which way ſoever they go. *Spain* is repreſented in a Chariot, ſeated on a Throne of Tortoiſshell, drawn by Remora's, who in tedious traverſing vaſt ſpaces of time, loſe many opportunities: yet her extraordinary patience and cloſe application to the game, with her skill in packing the Cards, oftentimes diſturbs the deſignes of the

the craftieſt Gameſters. When at more violent exerciſes ſhe never ſtumbles by too much haſte, ſhe waits the rebound of the ball, and if ſhe miſſes it, is ſatisfied to have judged it well, and not to have loſt her ſtroke by precipitation, and giving it before it came to ground. By a vaſt ſpeculation ſhe embraces the whole extent of an object, diſcovers the moſt minute parts of it, all its joynts and muſcles; and if ſhe makes not her ſelf Miſtreſs of it, it is never becauſe ſhe miſtook the moſt advantageous part to lay hold on, but becauſe too intent in ſtudying the hour and moment, which either paſſes over, or is ſnatched away whilſt ſhe waits for it, or deliberates on it.

It muſt be acknowledged that this misfortune doth not often happen to her in her Council-Chamber, nor in ſuch affairs as depend on negotiations only. Of all parts of the art of governing ſhe ſucceeds beſt in this, where her conſiderations fixed on all circumſtances are very happy, here ſhe makes appear the ingenious Fabrick of thoſe artificial Springs which give motion to a ſlow and circumſpect proceeding, that ſecures her of a good effect in what ever ſhe hath leiſure and time to manage. But in the field, and affairs of warre, where ſhe hath neither time nor liberty to comply with a long and mature deliberation, ſuch occaſions as cannot eaſily ſuffer this, and where opportunity muſt be anticipated, and more uſually left to hazard and fortune, than to prudence and reaſon, ſhe hath not the like advantage, and often

ten comes ſo ſhort in her reckoning, that ſhe ſees her moſt important deſignes periſh becauſe begun too late, and her ſelf deceived in the hour ſhe deſtined for their bringing forth. I will not be buſie about examples of this truth; for, beſides the Siege of *Maſtricht*, (the opportunity of raiſing which ſhe loſt by delaying to undertake it as ſoon as it was begun, and where ſhe pretended ſo much to force and Council, that ſhe at laſt employed neither the one nor the other, but in order to receiving a more publick affront) the late warrs might furniſh us teſtimonies ſo well known to all the world, that it were to no purpoſe to inſert them here.

But I will add that this gravity, and two great circumſpection which ſometimes makes the *Spaniards* fall by endeavouring to fix their feet more ſteadily, is in a manner recompenſed by a very conſiderable quality, which is an extraordinary conſtancy after misfortunes that have been almoſt deſtructive to her, and an inceſſant perſeverance with indefatigable vigor to purſue all advantages after good ſucceſs. If we conſider the rude trials of this to which ſhe hath been expoſed by inſurrections of ſo many people, revolt of one of her richeſt Provinces, and ſeparation of a Kingdom; if we obſerve the great ſhocks ſhe hath received both by land and ſea, from the Armies of ſo many Princes allied againſt her, and examine the many Battails ſhe hath loſt, we ſhall find cauſe enough of admiration that ſhe is ſtill on her feet, and that it is a grandeur altogether peculiar to that Nation, to endure

endure ſo much without fainting, and that no other ſtomach could digeſt ſo many hard morſel without loſs of appetite: that any thing of which remains is alone to be imputed to that gentle and natural heat which acts without precipitation, and ſuffers without alteration what it can neither concoct nor evacuate, caſting it on time and a more favourable conjuncture: I mean that her policies are ſo pliable and conſtant, that if her expedients and power often fail, her heart never does ſo, though contemplating her condition, ſhe hath nothing many times to comfort her, but patience, and ſuch other vertues as ſhe ever makes uſe of both in Field and Cabinet, how low ſoever. Neither hath ſhe been wont to give over a loſer, how unfortunate ſoever, ſeldom abandoning the gave and hope of revenge. Though ſhe lately conſented to the liberty of the United Provinces, and renounced her right to diſpute it, it was not till after a war of fourſcore years, nor without that abſolute neceſſity which obliges of two evils to chooſe the leaſt, ſo that we cannot inferre from it ſhe was ſick at heart, nor that ſhe often regorges what ſhe hath once ſwallowed. And perhaps if ſhe ever diſengages her ſelf from the many tyes that reſtrain her, and gets leiſure to make a free uſe of her power and wiſdom, it will appear ſhe laied not aſide the Cards, but becauſe ſhe had too many Gameſters upon her hand, and that ſhe will reaſſume them with this proteſtation, that there is no preſcription to Soveraigns; and that the ſolemneſt Othes, if contrary to

thoſe

thoſe of their Coronation oblige them not, and that there may as well happen to them as to the honeſt Caſuiſt, a certain apprehenſion that may diſpenſe with their making good their promiſe.

if we conſider on the other ſide (to return to what I have ſaid of the equality of their vigour in proſperity) how we.l the *Spaniards* underſtand to make uſe of the favours of fortune, and all their advantages, when heaven hath complied with that circumſpection and remote foreſight according to which they act, we muſt needs acknowledge all other policies come ſhort of theirs, being boldeſt, activeſt, and moſt vigilant after good ſucceſs, that beſt purſue the gain of a battail, and carefulleſt ſecure a Town after its ſurrender, that moſt aptly impoſe fetters on People they have conquered, or reduced to their ancient ſubjection, if ſtraied from it; and that better than any other accommodate to their own intereſts, thoſe of the Princes allied with them; (in a word) that after victory are more ſolicitous to gather all the fruits that can be derived from it, and draw all the good conſequences it can poſſibly afford. Others in proſperity languiſh, and their induſtry ſtackens after conqueſt, chuſing rather to enjoy the fruits of their good fortune, than to make an advantageous uſe of it, and to loſe the honor and profit of their greateſt actions, then not to repoſe and take breath at the end of the courſe. Such politicks belong only to thoſe that have better arms then heads, and that value not the Priſe ſo much as the

Race

Race, nor Crowns and Triumphs as Battails and Victories; I mean that preferre the way before the end, and great actions above the felicities they lead to.

To the two high advantages I have mentioned of the *Spaniſh* Politicks, derived from the great circumſpection that attends them, a third may be added, which is that whenſoever they have any deſign in hand, they can ſo ſecretly give it maturity, that nothing is diſcovered of it till at once it ſurpriſes and aſhoniſhes. They work under ground, and with much care that nothing of their deſign takes vent, leaſt which may be diſcovered by their meen & countenance they counterfeit ſleep when moſt awake, at Sentry, and ready to diſcharge, and (though at other times very jealous of reputation) are not then diſpleaſed to have their power decried, nor to be accuſed of weakneſs, that ſuch erroneous judgment may cauſe their enemies ſo much to neglect ſtanding on their Gard, they may take them unprovided and overthrow thoſe that think them to be in a condition neither to attacque, nor defend themſelves. Shadowed by ſuch ſecreſie, and ſecured by ſuch artifice, they have ſometimes very ſodainly advanced, and paſſing by the conqueſt of all *Sicilia*, it is known that in our daies they have ſucceſsfully done this. and when leaſt apprehended appeared before *Tarragon* and *Lerida* with more forces then they were thought to be Maſters of. In a word they have ever been ſecret to admiration and ſo excellently practiſed in that politick diſſimulation, ſo uſefull

full in governing, and that can ſo well aid it ſelf with diſguiſe, that they have often by it obtained ſuch effects, as by force they could never have arrived at. And when theſe little Maxims fail of ſucceſs in warr, they have recourſe to Treaties and Conferences, where they ſo dexterouſly make uſe of them, that in one maner or other they gain all advantages can be expected from them. On account of which I muſt needs take notice, that they obtain the better in Negotiations, by means alone of that flegmatick and extraordinary patience, that tires and quenches the heat of other people, leading them about through ſo many labyrinths, that at laſt weary of conferring ſo long, and concluding nothing, they comply with part of what is deſired, and perhaps in concluſion yield to the reſt, ſo to purchaſe that repoſe *Spain* ſeems ſo unwilling to grant them, becauſe ſenſible of their weakneſs, and that they purſue with impatience whatſoever they have once hoped for.

Thus by a judicious obſtinacy they oftentimes overcome the greateſt oppoſition againſt what they deſign, and by compliance poſſeſs themſelves of what they cannot obtain by conteſtation.

But to ſtay no longer on conſideration of Policies that have within themſelves turnings and windings very particular, I will only add that it is conceived ſomething might be amended in their Catholicon, I mean in that exceſs of zeal, real or pretended, they make appear in matters of Religion. It is very evident that this fire

ſometimes warms *Spain* to its prejudice, and may ſooner conſume her, than convince thoſe ſhe would by it win to her intereſts: And no leſs known that the Popes are not kinder to her on this account, but ſuſpect her paſſion for the Church of an humane infirmity, that ſtretches toward heaven only to grow higher upon earth: and that ſhe gains no friends intirely, but a ſhare only of their inclinations, by thoſe wayes that make her real enemies, that have a perfect hatred and averſion for her. In a word her conſtant deſigne, and to which ſhe ſeems engaged as by oath not to ſuffer Proteſtants in her Dominions, and to perſecute them in their own, is a ſtate ſecret that hath been ſo well examined by Catholicks, that its true price and value is ſufficiently underſtood by them, and no leſs by thoſe againſt whom it is directed, which cauſes them to apprehend, that on ſuch ſpecious principles, ſhe engages to their ruine, to ſatisfie her ambition, and that high aim of which ſhe is accuſed, by uniting in one body ſo many different Dominions, to become head of Chriſtendom. In the mean time the preſent compoſure of *Europe*, and form of the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity conſidered, ſhe ought to caſt off this thought, and recollect that the two parties into which it is divided, are almoſt equal, and if they ſhould come to a ſhock with the Body of their Forces, victory would a long time hover incertain which ſide to take, and perhaps not hers, though ſeconded by all the Roman Legions. She ought to underſtand her *Catholicon* to be but

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a thin viſard to her *Ragione di ſtato* that it hath often diſcovered the ſecret, which hath been known every where; and to examine how ſmall the advantages are of following Maxims that exaſperate one party, and gain not the other. My meaning, is ſhe ſhould confine her ſelf within the limits of temporal intereſt, without mixing Religion with it, which deſcended not from heaven to deſtroy Society, and that it will nothing avail her to make ſo many ſignes of the croſs, againſt Proteſtants. Let her therefore permit them to live, and living with them make them underſtand, ſhe hath abſolved her ſelf from that vow (at leaſt if there were any ſuch) which obliged her on all occaſions to endeavour their deſtruction and that of their Church. From ſuch a change of conduct ſhe would derive two great advantages, for ſhe would be more conſiderable at *Rome* by ſeeming leſs attached to the intereſts of that Court, and more redoubted by *France*, by diverting part of the inclination of thoſe of the Reformed Religion, which it believes it ſelf alone poſſeſſes, with excluſion of all other Catholick Princes, never giving teſtimonies of open hatred, nor perſecuting with fire and fagot, that which ought to be the object only of prayer and perſwaſion.

Having drawn ſome lines of the nature and qualities of the Spaniſh policies, it remains that I give ſuch a draught of thoſe of the French, as may diſcover part of their extent and Forces, that by comparing them we may judge which is likely to get the better of its rival: The later are

ſo variable, and of a form ſo tranſient, that hours and moments, which ever fly, have no ſwifter revolution; and the former are as contrary, and appropriated to fixation; it is very difficult to paint the one becauſe of the rapidity of its courſe, and no leſs ſo to determine which of the two is more potent, by reaſon of the continual conflict they have ſo long ſtrugled in, without yielding on either ſide. One would think they had divided between them all the skill of the Fencing-ſchool, and that the one comes on with better grace, and hath its arm more ſupple, but that the other reaches farther, and makes its thruſt more home: Thus Heaven to preſerve the power of theſe Nations near an equality, hath oppoſed to the vivacity and ſpirit of one of them the prudence and conſtancy of the other, that what the laſt comes ſhort in agility, may be recompenſed by its attention to all it undertakes; and what the firſt wants of circumſpection and patience may be ſupplied by incredible diligence.

It is yet probable that the *French* fire ſo allayed, as not to daſle the judgment, produces greater effects than the *Spaniſh* fleam, how conſiderable ſoever. It is capable of all that is Heroick even to miracle, it forces an alteration in the face of affairs, and chains fortune and victory to attend its banners, when they ſeem inclining to forſake it. It is as quick in diſcovering and preventing miſchiefs as in applying remedies to thoſe that ſurpriſe it. Its eye, hand, and heart are continually directed to what may help or

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hurt it; the first is usefull to embrace or avoid, the second to seise whatever is advantagious, and repel all that may be fatal, whilst the last animates to support all burthens, and often attains what its strength could not extend to, whilst with all three it on one side levels a way for misfortune, and banishes it, and on the other opens a door to success and meets it: Whereas the profound intellect of the *Spaniards*, by means of frosty irresolution and tedious deliberation, suffers the fruits of its best Enterprises to be nipt in the blossom, because not so diligent to execute as subtle to invent them. I could draw examples from our present times conclusive enough of this truth, if I were not desirous to make an end. I will therefore only add that that I am not unsensible, that the *French* airiness often causes their designes to miscarry, that their diligence is not alwayes joyned with prudence, and that it sometimes hastens with so little discourse and reflexion, it observes nothing, and as if it had no other members but hands and feet, violently plunges into confusion, and falls headlong into misfortune, by reason of that precipitation which often astonishes, and puts it besides it self, so much that its great courage abandoning it, it retreats in disorder. The reproach of this is nevertheless much out of date, by reason of many modern great and couragious actions and enterprises, where it hath made appear a diligence in executions, as little destitute of judgement as courage.

This was long ago, when experience had not

purified their fire, nor moderated that exceſs of it which made them begin well and end ill, on which account all they did was attributed to furie and a blind tranſport, that after the firſt attempt was changed into fear: but they are no more the ſame men, neither, after going on like Lions, do they come off like Hares; and when their enterpriſes fail of ſucceſs, they many times retreat with honor, and without confuſion. And certainly the greateſt promptitude when accompanied by reaſon and judgement is as often the Mother as Stepdame of good fortune. *Alexander* conquered all becauſe he would leave nothing for the morrow; and *Caſar* allowed but a moment between deliberation and action, apprehending that either the greatneſs of the deſign might diſcourage it, or the opportunity be paſſed if he took time to examine it: but as the celerity of theſe two Heroes was ever fortunate, by reaſon of their prodigious Capacities in all they undertook, and the circumſpection and delays of *Fabius Maximus* and the great *Gonſalvo* re-eſtabliſhed Empire, and conquered Kingdoms, we may ſay that each of theſe Nations, according as their predominant humor is allaied by prudence, and illuminated by reaſon, can diſgeſt the tougheſt morſels, and difficulteſt thwartings of fortune, though one of them hath defects of ſtomach, that ſometimes cauſe vomitings, and the other is now and then afflicted with megrims that oblige it to repoſe. *Auguſtus* had felt the pulſe of both of them when he pronounced his *Feſtina lente*: and we may

may infallibly conclude that a third Conſtitution participating of the *French* promptitude and *Spaniſh* ſolidity, were alone capable not only of conquering the World but governing it. And a great and wiſe Frenchman having owned *l'intereſt d'Angleterre eſtant bien ſuivi eſtablira dans la Chretienté vne troiſiem puiſſance* : that *England* purſuing her true intereſt will become a third Power, equal to *France* and *Spain* (and this meant in regard of her ſcituation & ſtrength alone) I think I may modeſtly enough add, that the equality and harmony of her temper (which neither heavily ſlumbers away opportunities, nor raſhly ſnatches at them before maturity) conſidered, did not ſome miſtaken principles, introduced by a fond doting on ſuch a liberty as is inconſiſtent with Government, make the ſubordinate wheels too heavy, and the Spring (that is the ſupreme power) too weak to produce regular and vigorous motions in them, by a perfect ſubmiſſion to her Soveraign, ſhe might under his conduct be able to make a farther progreſſion towards giving laws to mankind than any other people ever arrived at.

FINIS.